SAINT
IGNATIUS LOYOLA

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

"The result is that the character of St. Ignatius appears in the volume before us with a clearness and a force that have never graced it before in English, or, we may venture to say, in any other tongue."—MONTH.

"It is no exaggeration to say that, in tone and spirit as well as in language and style, it is the most masterly presentation of the life of a Saint that our age has seen."

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

"'St. Ignatius,' by Francis Thompson, is not professedly a study in asceticism, nor a work of historical research; yet it has probably more value than if it were either or both. We have never before had anything like it in English."—AMERICA.

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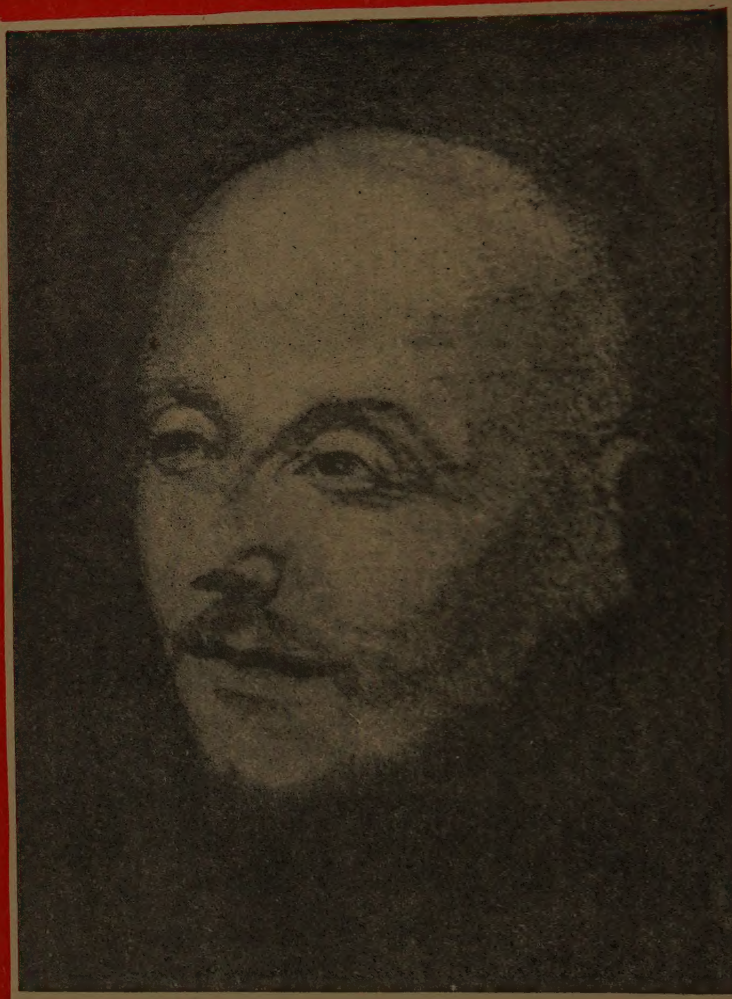

THE ONLY AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT OF

SAINT IGNATIUS LOYOLA

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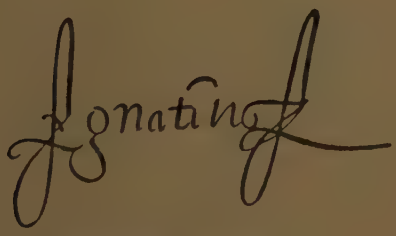
SAINT IGNATIUS LOYOLA

BY FRANCIS THOMPSON

EDITED BY
JOHN H. POLLEN, S.J.
WITH 100 ILLUSTRATIONS
BY H. W. BREWER & OTHERS



THE SAINT'S SIGNATURE

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TO DEAR
MOTHER AUSTIN
NUN OF THE PRESENTATION
AND SISTER OF FRANCIS THOMPSON
HIS LITERARY EXECUTOR
DEDICATES THIS VOLUME
WITH NO LESS THAN
A BROTHER'S
LOVE

THE LITERARY EXECUTOR'S NOTE

FRANCIS THOMPSON accepted the commission for this "Life of Saint Ignatius" some years before his death—accepted it with an alacrity not always attending the set task. If, as was often said of him, he was a seventeenth-century Poet born into the nineteenth, he may be supposed to have had almost a contemporary's affinity with the age in which the Society of Jesus set forth. Moreover he brought to his biography the sympathy of genius with genius. Original research was beside his plan; he purposed to tell—if he could, to tell better—a story thrice told by others. A familiar figure in the Library of the British Museum he accordingly became; and Oxford Street was meditatively paced by him many a night with some Ignatian volume—the "Life" by Stewart Rose for choice—tucked tight beneath his arm.

When Francis Thompson died in the November of 1907, he was already famous; and it became a question whether the master mind of many a creation in poetry could be fairly gauged by a biography in prose. A perusal of the manuscript, which he had finally completed, put all doubt at rest. An appointed labour it might have been; it had proved to be a labour of love. Its pages evade the dulness of a duty painfully performed. Moreover, this story of a great Revival, carries with it an invitation to our own languishing day. Many a one may discover in it his own Manresa; herein

are heard spiritual whispers inviting to conversions as wonderful as Ignatius's own. When John Henry Newman was asked what he thought of Wellington's "Despatches," he said they made him "burn to be a soldier"; and many a soldier reading this book may yet burn to be a Saint.

At any rate, what the writing of the "Life" did for its author, the close study of it may do for his reader. It helped him to become a lover of the Saint, and of that sanctity which he commonly spoke of as "genius in religion." It brought him near to Ignatius and his Companions, the buffeted and the crossed; and, let me add, if the relation be not too personal, it moved him to ask spiritual alms from the London sons of the Saint during the last stages of his arid journey through life.

The Publishers have added to the adornment of the volume by placing at its disposal the drawings which the late H. W. Brewer and Mr. H. C. Brewer originally made to illustrate the text of "Stewart Rose's" large biography. These artists sought in the main to reproduce the scenes of the Saint's life as they appeared to his own eyes; a restoration in which they had the assistance of the Bollandists and of other experts. Finally, the sheets have had the advantage of careful revision from a high Ignatian authority, Father John Hungerford Pollen, S.J.

WILFRID MEYNELL.

THE EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

A CHARACTERISTIC of St. Ignatius, not remarked by our author, is the attraction that he, like Mary Queen of Scots, exercises on biographers. Already in 1864, Père Carayon enumerated over a hundred and twenty different lives in his *Bibliographie Historique de la Compagnie de Jésus*, and the list has been much augmented in Sommervogel's *Bibliothéque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussels, 1890). It is more than a coincidence, that our nineteenth century Poet should have been preceded as a biographer by the great Catholic Laureate of the seventeenth century, John Dryden; for to him must certainly be ascribed the fine English version from the French, *The Life of St. Ignatius, by Dominick Bouhours, Translated by a Person of Quality* (London, 1686).

The reason for this attraction is not far to seek. Ignatius has left us in abundance the materials which biographers prefer, autobiography, and correspondence of great variety and interest, in which all burning topics of the Reformation period find some reflection. A fine edition of this world-wide correspondence has, since Thompson wrote, been undertaken by the Spanish Jesuits, under the title *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (ed. Rodeles, Madrid, 1894 &c.). It now comprises thirty-six volumes, whose excellent notes and indexes make their use extremely easy and pleasant. Ignatius's invaluable autobiography, which was not easily accessible till lately, has now appeared in an English version under the title, *The Testament of*

St. Ignatius (London 1900, with notes by Thurston and Tyrrell). A critical and annotated edition of the original text will be found in the *Monumenta* series, under the sub-section *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, and the name of Gonzales de Cámara, the Father who wrote down the narrative.

No life has yet been undertaken which should take account of all the new materials. But by consulting the recently published Histories of the Society —in Spain (by Astrain, Madrid, 1902); in Germany (by Duhr, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907); in Italy (by Tacchi-Venturi, Rome, 1909) and in France (by Fouqueray, Paris, 1910), notices will be found of the newly discovered lights. I may also refer to an article by myself upon them in *The Month*, for June, 1909.

It must not, however, be imagined that these new publications have revolutionised the traditional life-story of the Saint. Interesting and valuable additions to our knowledge have indeed been made, and certain incidents become so much clearer, that the older versions of them must be considered insufficient. But considering the life as a whole, the corrections to be made are microscopic. The early lives were written by men who knew the Saint, and had access to his writings, and in their pithy, direct way, they wrote their history so well and clearly that they still remain our most trusted guides. It is like looking on some distant view, at first with glasses of smaller power, but broader field and greater brilliancy; and then with a modern telescope of greater magnification, but with the inevitable disadvantage of more restricted view, and perhaps of diminished clearness. No doubt the gain is great,

but the smaller instrument nevertheless remains preferable for taking broad views, and for acquiring a general acquaintance with the whole.

This is true of a short Life like the present, even apart from the special gifts which a writer like Thompson has brought to his task. A story of far off times, unusual and complicated, and by consequence hard to convey clearly, is told with a simplicity and vivacity which make it living, intelligible and convincing. His judgment is decided and unconventional. Once or twice I do not agree —in his reflections, for instance, on Spain and Spaniards. But everyone can see that this only makes the value of his tribute to the Spanish Saint all the more valuable.

Finally it may be questioned whether any of the Saint's previous biographers, unrivalled though many were, as Bartoli, Ribadeneira and Dryden, in their own lines, have equalled Thompson, in the fidelity and beauty of the short, clear word-pictures which adorn every page of this history. Of their grace and vigour the reader must judge; to their precision and accuracy it is my pleasing duty, as Editor of this posthumous publication, to add in conclusion my sincere testimony.

J. H. Pollen, S.J.

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CHAPTER I

THE Founder of a mighty religious force which has poured its peaceful soldiery into every part of the world was a Basque. He was one of that strange and mysterious little people nestled under the shoulders of the Pyrenees, which seems to be among the most primitive peoples of Europe; with other blood in its veins than that of the conquering Goth, the conquering Roman, or even (it may be) the conquered Iberian.

"La Santa Casa": House of Loyola

But Ignatius—probably the youngest of a family of eight sons and four daughters—was not baptized Ignatius. He was named Enico or Iñigo, after the canonised Abbot of Oña, near Burgos; and himself in after years took the name Ignatius, out of homage to the martyred Bishop of Antioch. The room wherein Jesuitism and he were born is in the still standing Castle of Loyola, near the little town of Azpeitia. The year of his birth was 1491.

THE LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS

There is nothing to be told of the boy Ignatius. He had a pious mother, early dead (one surmises), for he was soon sent to a no less pious aunt, Doña Maria de Guevara, at Castilian Arevalo. Yet whatever devotional influence these two women exerted on him remained dormant; the effective influence of those early years was that of his father. Don Beltran, indeed, is said to have taken the lad every year to the shrine of Santiago de Compostella; but, apart from a certain religiosity traditional among the Spanish nobles, he was severe and injudicious in his training of his children, and a fosterer of secular rather than religious ambitions. These had their gratification when the youth was sent to the Court of Ferdinand, where his kinsman, the Duke of Najera Don Antonio Manriquez, took charge of hi education. With that begins the story of Ignatiu as we definitely know it.

It was a great, a brilliant, a corrupt epoch fraught with possibilities of glory and peril to a youth of Spain. The old order was yielding. Throughout Europe the nations were loud with the falling ruins of feudalism, and the consolidation of absolute monarchies was ushering in the new political creation. In a mighty dust of war and revolt Christendom itself was vanishing, leaving in its stead an adjustment of States on a secular basis to be known as "the balance of European Power."

In the year after little Loyola's birth Columbus sailed to begin the New World. When the boy passed to the Court the day of Ferdinand an Isabella was done; Charles V. was waiting t ascend the Spanish throne. Before he began th campaign which ended in the breach of Pamplona

AZPEITIA: WHERE IGNATIUS WAS BAPTIZED

Charles had inherited the sceptre of Spain and been elected to the Empire of Germany. The great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, was dead; Francis I. was King in France, singing "*Souvent femme varie*," and preparing to tilt with Charles for the supremacy of Europe. English Harry was still bluff Hal, no gospel light yet dawned from Boleyn's eyes, and many an English Queen, little dreaming that perilous dignity to come, still bore her head on her shoulders. But a thick-necked young German friar, with the Reformation in his cowl, was about to cut the tow-rope between the Teuton nations and the boat of Peter. There was a Constable Bourbon who should presently halloo those revolting Teutons to the sack of Rome; there was Cellini, a goldsmith, who should brag to have killed him there: a young Gaston de Foix was to flame athwart Italy, and leave like a modern Epaminondas—the victors weeping at Ravenna: a Bayard, last of chivalry in an unchivalric age, was to leave a name *sans peur et sans reproche*. And there was a young Loyola: what of him? Why, before Cervantes came to laugh Spain's chivalry away, should he not be a Spanish Bayard, a Spanish Gaston de Foix, or indeed both in one?

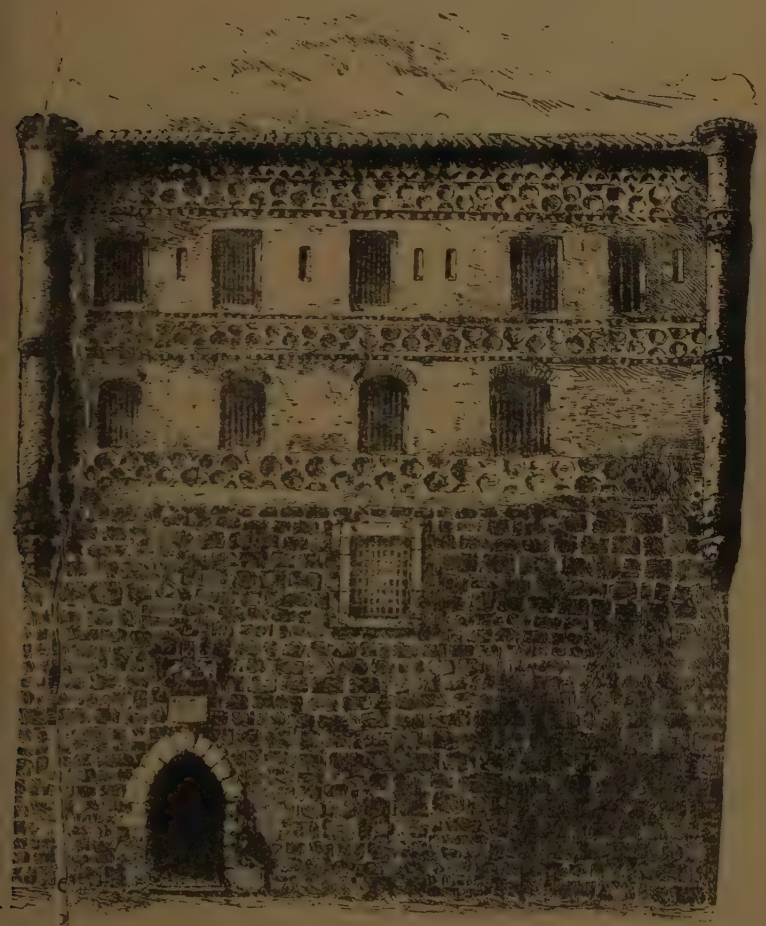
Truly, why not? No man seemed better fitted for such a two-fold and exalted ambition. His youthful portraits are not contemporaneous, and must, one supposes, have been done conjecturally from his appearance in later years; yet they impress one as being a likeness, and, aided by description, may give us some idea of the soldier who fell in the breach of Pamplona. Short, but well-knit and active, an expert in knightly exercise, with dark and glossy clustering hair and lofty

THE CHURCH OF LOYOLA

forehead, he has in those portraits something of Napoleonic countenance, but with an Augusta delicacy of chin that fits ill with the general massiveness of the face. This trait appears in the late and more trustworthy portraits, which show als more unmistakably the considerable aquilinity the nose. The compelling power of his eyes w memorable; and, like Napoleon, as a youth he w a swayer of men. Trained to war, he snuffed t battle afar off; war was his inspiration, his amb tion: but no mere soldier he. The ideal of the Spaniards was like the ideal of our own Elizabetha —of all great Englishmen, till the Georges p their illiterate stamp on our public life. The ha which wielded the sword or directed the Sta must likewise guide the pen: to be soldier, stat man, and man of letters was held but need equipment by the energies of that age. His un trained Ignatius to write as he trained him to t tourney and the camp: here was a man who wou carry a town sword in hand; and, having wash off the dust of battle, might sit down to pen a lov sonnet or a religious poem. For he wrote both, t Ignatius: a man framed for the Court or the fie for my lady's bower or my lord's council-chamb

Such a man might well, perhaps in secret, asp to rival the great Captain and the knigh Bayard; to drive the French from Italy, or r as Viceroy the great dependencies of Spain. this might seem forewritten in his destiny. T one thing no man could foresee was that he sho be the fated protagonist of that Augustinian fr in turbulent Germany, a warrior against t world he found so fair and loved so well. Le of all could young Iñigo himself foresee that fat

Next to war, his ambition was for love. And he seemed made for one as for the other. The olive-



SANTA CASA, LOYOLA, THE BIRTHPLACE OF IGNATIUS

kinr[illegible]hed youth was not altogether as the staid, eser[illegible]ved Saint: that expressive countenance, the nob[illegible]lity of which to the last baffled its painters, vas in those days the witness of a lively temper,

swift to mirth, and accomplished, no doubt, in the courtly commerce of speech. Modest of tongue, he yet stood upon the "point of honour," so dear to Spain, and was keen in resentment of insult, like Mercutio; though not among the light quarrellers at whom Mercutio girded. He was no stickler for place and precedence. Generous, quick to forgive as to resent a slight, he appeased mutinies in the field at his personal risk, and was loved by his men. Like Quixote (a typical Spaniard, when all is said), he pored over chivalric romances, especially delighted by "Amadis de Gaul," and was pleased that his handsome person should go handsomely clothed. Iñigo's tailor was not the least of his devotions. His was a nature not easy to be subdued to sanctity. We said advisedly that he "ambitioned" love. That "last infirmity of noble minds" is, we think, the key to Ignatius's nature. Ambition, the master-passion, had as much to do with his choice of a lady-love as any amorous sentiment, and perhaps more. She was neither countess nor duchess, but higher than either, he said in after years; and it seems likely that she was Juana, daughter of the Queen-Dowager of Naples, who was then living at the Court of her uncle, Ferdinand of Spain. For her it was that Iñigo wrote love-poems, besides those occasional religious poems, one of which has come down to us; for her he showed his skill in joust, his fine garments and fine horsemanship; for her, doubtless, he used that tolerable accomplishment with the brush which he is said to have possessed. For her he led armies to war. She was poetry, she was chivalry, above all, she was his ambition visible, and his ambition visible was she.

He began brilliantly. Perhaps he fought in Italy under the great captain Gonsalvo; perhaps in Navarre under his kinsman and protector. But

PAMPLONA

with the death of Ferdinand, the dispossessed King of Navarre poured into his domains at the head of French troops, and the War of the Comuneros began. Iñigo's uncle, now Viceroy of Navarre, reinforced by the Regent (Cardinal Ximenes), marched against the French, drove them out, razed the Navarrese castles, and began fortifying Pamplona. Iñigo marched with him, and soon had work of his own. Castilian towns were in arms, and he was detached to suppress the

revolt. He stormed little Najera, on the Biscayan frontier, and entered sword in hand at the head of his forces; with chivalrous disdain rejecting any share of the spoils his personal valour had won.

Then things grew worse. Ximenes gave place to Cardinal Adrian, and the French reinvaded Navarre. In the spring of 1521 they advanced on Pamplona, where Iñigo was. The fortifications were unfinished; the garrison was weak and the artillery weak; the town was for surrender and the officers were for retreat. Not Iñigo: he urged defence till the Duke could reinforce them. "I do not think even Æneas worthy of admiration," cried he, "when I see him escaping from the flames that consumed his city, for to shun a common peril is the nature of cowards; to perish in the universal ruin is the mischance of brave men. I should deem him worthy of immortal glory if he had died of his fidelity."

It was the temper of old heroic Spain; but the officers probably were not imbued with "Amadis de Gaul," and saw no profit in being a holocaust. Iñigo was not in command, so they retreated, and he withdrew himself into the citadel. The commandant was more amenable to his exhortations, especially since the French pressed humiliating conditions; and the citadel stood at bay. Iñigo confessed to a brother-in-arms by whose side he had often fought, harangued the garrison in right chivalric fashion, and was the soul of a fierce fight, standing on the ramparts where the fire of the French guns concentrated. But a stone dislodged by a shot struck his left leg, the rebounding cannon-ball shattered the right; and Iñigo and Pamplona fell.

It was May 20th, 1521—Whit-Monday; and the French marched into the citadel.

That was the last time he should draw the sword, though he knew it not. The French tended him with all honour for some fifteen days, and then, his wounds proving very severe, freed him without ransom. He presented to them all he had—his helmet, sword, and shield; and was borne in a

PAMPLONA

litter by his brave enemies to the Castle of Loyola. There his brother, Don Martin Garcia, was lord in place of their dead father. The first thing the surgeons told him was that, to avoid a deformity, the bones must be broken again. He bore the operation with no sign save the clenched hands to show his suffering; but fever set in, and he received the last Sacrament. On the eve of SS. Peter and Paul he declared that St. Peter (to whom he had already shown his devotion by writing a poem in his honour), appeared and promised him recovery. He grew better, the wounds healed. Then it was found that the right leg was shorter than the left, while a part of the bone protruded below the knee, which promised him a permanent limp and

a lifelong deformity. The limp was incurable, but it was possible to reopen the wound and saw off the deforming protrusion. The man of iron nerve bade them go about it at once. There was the serious consideration that he could not otherwise wear the fashionable trunk-hose! Yet he bore the pain with his invincible fortitude. Not even then had the scientific torturers done with him. To lengthen the limb they forcibly extended it by an iron machine; and this rack also he endured, and endured for weeks, in the cause of chivalry and ladies' love.

That was a will potent for great matters, if truly directed; and the direction was at hand. The world is aware of the story. Wearying on his painful bed, man of action as he was (for all that poetic side which made him the Raleigh among the Saints), he asked for a chivalrous romance. There was none such in the stern Basque castle; so they brought him a couple of pious books—the "Life of Christ," by Ludolph, a monk of Saxony, and a treatise on the "Lives of the Saints." Ludolph, by the way, was a Carthusian; and this seems to have given Ignatius a bias which caused a lasting friendship with that contemplative Order. Little such provender liked him; but sick men and prisoners read anything, and much faithful introspection has come of being shut up with one compulsory book. So it was with young Iñigo. Beginning listlessly, this new world slowly laid on him its surprise, no less than that Pacific on "stout Cortez" in the not too accurate imagination of Keats. The contrast between his own self-seeking—with all its lofty trappings—and the God-seeking of these men, amazed and disquieted

him. With amaze grew curiosity, with curiosity interest; and last suggested itself the leading question, pat to the ambitious nature of the man: "Why should not I do as this one or that?" The aspiring soldier had found his true banner, under "that sweet Captain, Jesus Christ." The hallowed poison did not work all at once, or unhindered. To such questioning came reactions of earthly-amatory day-dreams. He thought of his lofty-placed lady-love; planned their next meeting, the high fantastic terms in which he would woo her, or, maybe, a lovers' private jargon, a kind of chivalric "little language," such as that of Swift and Stella.

But the delight of these imaginings left him agitated and unblessed; while the diviner reverie left comfort behind. He noted the contrast, and it opened his understanding to the great test which proves whether communication and emotion be heavenly or unheavenly. Introspection set in upon him; the example of the Saints more and more engrossed him; he began to account his life misspent; and with divine enlightenment came the resolve to imitate the Saints indeed.

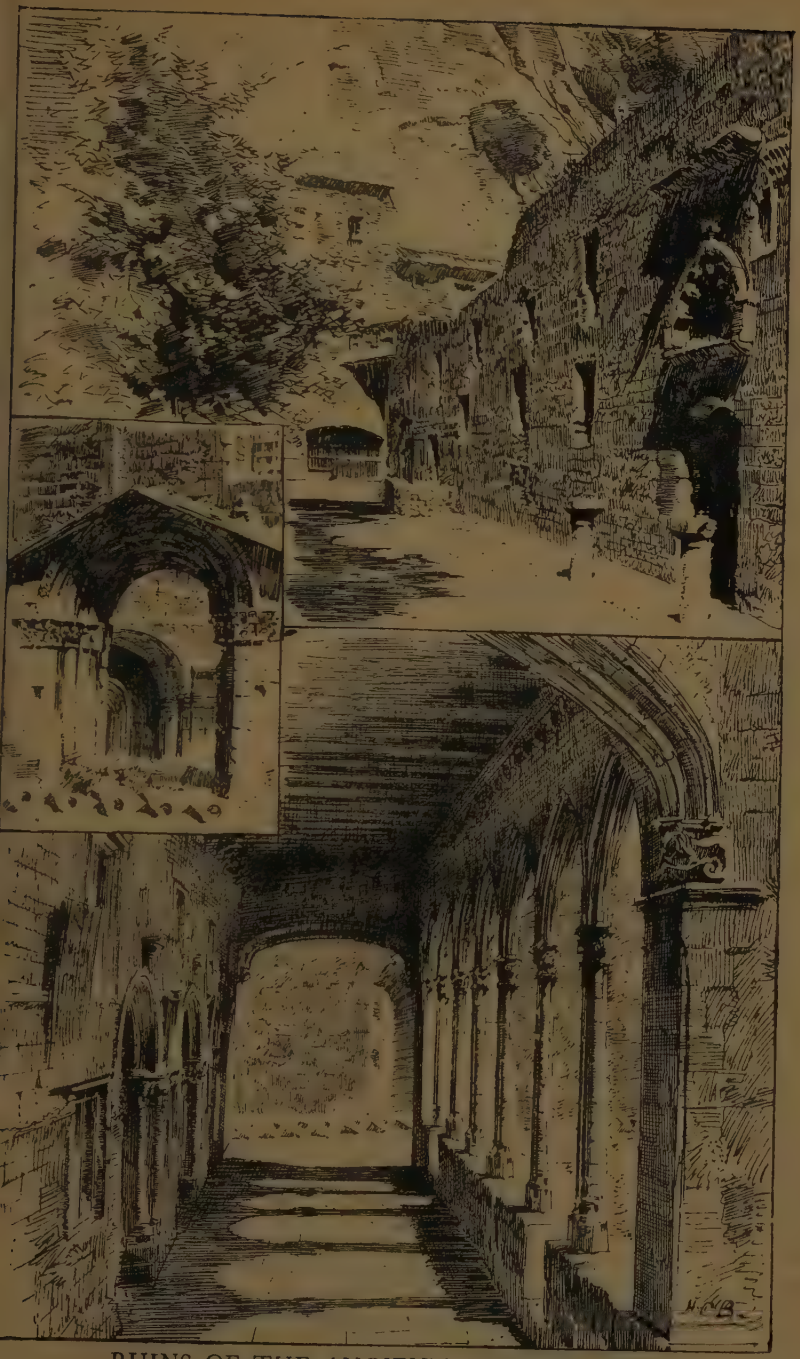
With such a man there could be no halting measures. It was to be a change of flags. Still a man of practical externalities, like the young Teresa he saw nothing for it but violent penance, a barefoot pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and then a burying of himself in the Carthusian monastery of Seville. He began to keep vigils of prayer; and, at last, in one of these nightly watches, before an image of the Virgin, he offered himself as her Son's servant for the rest of his life. A shock seemed to quake the castle in the moment of that decisive

resolution ; and, a few nights later, he beheld in a vision the Blessed Mother with her Child in her arms.

Hesitancy was past ; he had made the "grand refusal," which was equally the grand acceptance, and the whole trend of his affections changed with a swift completion possible only to a soul at once so eager and decisive. The adamantine volition which singly had nerved the faltering garrison of Pamplona, which had cut its way into rebel Najera, which had elected the fracturing bar, the saw, the rack of the surgeons, was now set Godward, and it made no stay. He cared no longer for aught without a relish of Divinity. Till he was convalescent, he occupied himself ornately transcribing the acts of Christ and the Saints ; and this volume, in gold and vermilion and blue, was henceforth his beloved companion.

So soon as he could travel, though one foot was still unhealed, he began his escape. His good brother doubted his purpose, and invited his confidence ; imploring him not to falsify the family's hope of him, the career before him which need not prevent personal holiness ; yet promising not to thwart his wishes, be they what they might. Ignatius (the gallant Iñigo no more) perhaps distrusted the scope of this assurance, knowing the extreme nature of his plans ; at any rate, he made a reticent answer, pleading his necessity, now that he had recovered, to pay his respects to the Duke of Najero ; and his brother reluctantly allowed his departure, foreboding somewhat of the issue, though not the whole amazing sequence. This man was to illustrate the family name indeed.

With another brother and two servants, Ignatius



RUINS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND CLOISTERS, MONTSERRAT

journeyed first towards his sister, halting for a night of prayer at the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Aranzazu—"returning the visit which his heavenly Mistress had paid to him," says Mariani with Italian simplicity of sweetness. From his sister at Onate he went on to the Duke at Navarrette. There he parted from the brother and the servants, riding on alone to the shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat, perched on a Pyrenean height with a great Benedictine monastery by it. His mule was presently overtaken by another mule, bearing one of the forcibly converted Moors. The Moor, learning whither he went, began an argument in disrespect of Mary, until Ignatius, still a cavalier by instinct, as to the last he was profoundly influenced by *soldatesque* ideals, remained uncertain whether he ought not to ride on after that infidel, in pure knightly *devoir* to the Madonna. But reaching a point where the road parted, a broad and easy way leading after the Moor, while a narrow, steep and rugged path led up the hill, he threw rein and the decision on the neck of the mule. It was no fair odds against the Moor ; but the animal, like Balaam's ass, wiser than its rider, took the narrow path which led to Ignatius's—and the Moor's—salvation.

In a little town at the foot of Montserrat he bought a long sackcloth gown, a hempen girdle, and a grass sandal for his wounded foot ; with which before him on the saddle he reached the monastery. There his first business was a general confession to the hermit of St. Damas, one Juan Chanones, a Frenchman of noted sanctity. So minute was he, that it lasted three days. He disclosed also his intended method of life, and received

counsel. His next procedure was no less characteristic than the fit of zeal from which the Moor so hardly escaped. With "Amadis de Gaul" still in

HERMITAGE OF SAN DAMAS, MONTSERRAT

his head, he resolved to "watch his arms" at the Church of Our Lady of Montserrat. Here, then, on the eve of the Annunciation, 1522, you have our Ignatius seeking a beggar on whom he bestows his fine clothes; then, girding himself in the sackcloth gown which symbolised his armour of poverty, he hangs up sword and dagger by Our Lady's statue,

and watches through the night before the altar—now kneeling, now from much weakness leaning on his staff. Never Religious Order had such chivalric birth. For on that night, one may say, was born (though yet its Founder dreamed not of it) the Company of Jesus, the Free-Lances of the Church.

Next day, after communicating, he set forth afoot towards little Manresa. Happily for him, he met a pious lady, Doña Ines, who directed him to the Hospital of St. Lucy in Manresa, of which a widowed friend was Superior ; and thither sent him food from her own table. Not for the last time with him, as with St. Francis, did the beneficence of women play a conspicuous part. His rank was revealed to her by an emissary who overtook him from the monastery, with tidings that the unlucky beggar was arrested for stealing the clothes given him by Ignatius. "Disguise, I see, thou art a wickedness!" the penitent Saint might have exclaimed with Viola ; as indeed something like it he did exclaim. At Manresa he stayed some months, tending the sick in the hospital, praying, and practising rigid austerities—a hair-shirt next his skin, an iron chain or a girdle woven of a prickly plant round his waist. Then he removed to the cave on the hill-side which has become famous as the Cave of Manresa.

Therein he went through his real interior preparation, with intervals when illness forced a temporary return to the town, that he might be tempted back to health. From the spiritual warfare of this cavern issued the memorable "Spiritual Exercises" ; the weapon which here he forged for himself and his Society. His experience in this

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solitude was an epitome of the psychology of the Saints; and it smote him all the more hardly, and came home to him the more intimately, because he was utterly without foreknowledge of the spiritual life, and fought out his fight alone, like

Cross of Tort, Manresa, with Montserrat in the Background. Time of Ignatius

the first Fathers of the Desert. Everything was a surprise, joyful or more often terrible. He began, as begin all the Saints, with sweetness and ardent alacrity of divine service. Then came that grievous amaze which no less comes to all:

"Ah, God, alas,
How soon it came to pass
The sweetness melted from Thy barbèd hook
Which I so simply took;
And I lay bleeding on the bitter land,
Afraid to stir against Thy least command,
Yet losing all my pleasant life-blood, whence
Force should have been heart's frailty to withstand." *

* Coventry Patmore.

So it was with Ignatius. As he prayed one day in the church of Villadordis, the thought came to him whether he could bear this manner of life for forty years; and though instantly repelled, it was as the toll of the alarm-bell which announced the real onset of the enemy, to which all he had yet known had been mere preparatory skirmishing. Sudden glooms now fell upon him, profound sadnesses, utter aridity; joy returned with like abruptness, again to be swallowed up in darkness. These violent oscillations took him with a dreadful amaze; it was like the putting off of one garment and the putting on of another, he said. And the accomplished soldier, courtier, handler of the pen and the brush, was rude as a boy in matters of the spirit; each fresh phase found him unprescient, struck him as a ship is stricken and shaken by a bursting shell. He was then such a 'prentice in the spiritual life that he—the author of the "Exercises"—for a time knew nothing but vocal prayer, and heard Mass by reading the story of the Passion—simple "spiritual reading," but the spiritual reading of a Saint. In these accesses of desolation all relish of prayer went from him, he had no confidence in what he had already done, and future effort seemed futile; he appeared to himself God-abandoned, like his Master on Olivet. He might have cried, in the words of the poet already quoted:

> "Life is not life at all without delight,
> Nor has it any might;
> And better than the insentient heart and brain
> Is sharpest pain."

That, too, was in store for him. His austerities brought on a swoon so persistent that he was carried from the church of Villadordis, in which he

prayed, to the Dominican convent, where he lay ill. He was dying, he thought; and, beginning to examine his conscience, the idea came to him that what he had already accomplished was enough to warrant him of Paradise. Throughout his illness he fought these presumptuous impulses with mental agony, and when he recovered he recovered to a perception of the spiritual danger through which he had come. But it did not end with that illness. This new temptation of spiritual pride was an intermittent but enduring torment for two years.

CHURCH OF VILLADORDIS, NEAR MANRESA

Throughout his long Manresan preparation his interior sufferings were so mingled with the bodily breakdown induced by his iron self-maceration, that it is not possible to say how far they were sharpened by the very weapons he used to combat them. That, in some such form, they must needs have come, we know from the plentiful precedent of other Saints; and from the study of physical psychology we know that they may sometimes have been intensified by physical and nervous weakness. That he learned to condemn the indiscretion of his young and inexpert ardour we also know, but the condemnation was rather because of the injury to his body as a beast of burden in the service of the Church and his neighbour. But be this as it may, with the end of that cruel two years, to Ignatius pale and worn, no longer the handsome

cavalier, came the deadliest struggle of all. It might have been foretold : that subtle and eager intellect, turned inward on itself, could not ultimately escape the searing ordeal of scrupulosity. To minds active yet indecisive it perhaps comes early ; but even to his resolute will, when intellect so acute was conioined with warm imagination, it must needs come at last. He had escaped (it should seem) some of the trials which beset other natures : it is noteworthy, as bearing upon our observation that his love was perhaps more ambitious and imaginative than really amative, that he does not appear to have endured those assaults which drove the tenderhearted and seraphic Assisian to his " bride of snow." Love is the moving force of all the Saints ; but there was perhaps more of the cherub than the seraph in Ignatius, and more yet of the sworded Michael. For him, therefore, as final and most dread test, the hot ploughshares of scrupulosity !

Advised by his confessor to write down his sins, once and for all, and there make an end, he found the vile ingenuity of the disease throve upon the remedy. After its diabolically subtle manner, it made him long that his confessor should forbid further reference to past sins (the one effective course when the sufferer's real sincerity is plain), and then taunted him with that longing as a proof of his insincerity. What use to tell the anguished Saint, " Accuse yourself only of what you clearly know to be sins," when all clear self-knowledge was helplessly befouled ? As the painter, close-poring over his picture, loses all justness of values and perspective, till subordinate colour and detail starts into distorted prominence, intense and panic-stricken self-scrutiny so forced nothings into faults,

MANRESA

faults into sins, slight sins into heinous sins. He communicated, and communicated with the doubt that he was eating to his own damnation. In its final effect this hideous plague brings the mind into a mere incapacity of decision, arrests all advance, perhaps drives to despair. The remedy, says Ignatius himself, is to pursue a course exactly opposite to that on which you see you are being driven. But with palsied decision this, so easy to advise, is most hard to do. Even a mind so robust, a volition so powerful as his own, could not save Ignatius from nearing the brink of despair. For the strongest will cannot act—that is the evil—if the mind cannot decide.

Again his body failed: the crisis came and the end. Again he was nursed in the Dominican convent: the scrupulous malady came upon him with paroxysmal terror, and he cried on God for relief. Instead, his eyes fell on a deep hole in his cell, and he was urged to cast himself down. *There* lay relief. But he cried out in immediate recoil, and resolved to lay the demon by a prolonged fast, after the example of the Fathers of the Desert. His confessor wisely interrupted the fast; but after a period of respite the torment returned, and weary disgust impelled him to give up the contest and his ascetic life together. Once more he summoned his strength to repel the temptation and persevere. And behold, beyond hope or expectation, the battle was won, the war was ended. The thick fog of scrupulosity drew off as suddenly as it had come, and with it went his miseries. He had conquered simply by clinging and resisting to the last; and relief had finally come, the relief of "the rhythm of life," not through any wisdom of

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AT MANRESA, WHERE IGNATIUS PRAYED ON ARRIVING IN THAT TOWN

his own or others. It was the close of the agonising probation, the searching preparation, which had lasted for ten months in the lonely Cave of Manresa. Now he could deliver himself to the contemplations which came as water in a land long waterless, and meditate the going forth about his Father's business.

There remained with him, as with other Saints who have gone through the like bitter trial, a special gift of aiding the scrupulous, so that such persons, in their converse with him, found relief. Beyond this gift, which was for the service of others, there came to him in recompense those illuminations, lofty and profound, which commonly follow in the wake of such receding spiritual storm ; as (says legend) by the play of light and shadow on the jewels—the Urim and Thummim —of the High Priest's breastplate the oracle of Jehovah spoke. On the heights above the Cardoner, after having prayed in the church of St. Paul which neighboured them, light descended on him. Truths in which he was wholly untaught were suddenly opened to him. Yet this was the man who had begun in ignorance of mental prayer. God, he said, had treated him as a teacher does a child, giving him but a little to learn at a time, and making him master it before he passed to further knowledge. Revelations visited him sometimes by interior perception, sometimes under sensible images. Under such images, it seems, he was shown in the Dominican church the plan of the universe at the Creation ; but the manner of this figurative presentment was beyond his description. Frequently he discerned the Humanity of Christ, not with the eyes but by interior sight, as

a luminous shape, not "distinguishable in member, joint, and limb." On the steps of the Dominican church, reciting the Little Office, he was suddenly given clear intuition of the mystery of the Trinity, so that he wept for joy; and thenceforth he had peculiar associations with the Three Persons.

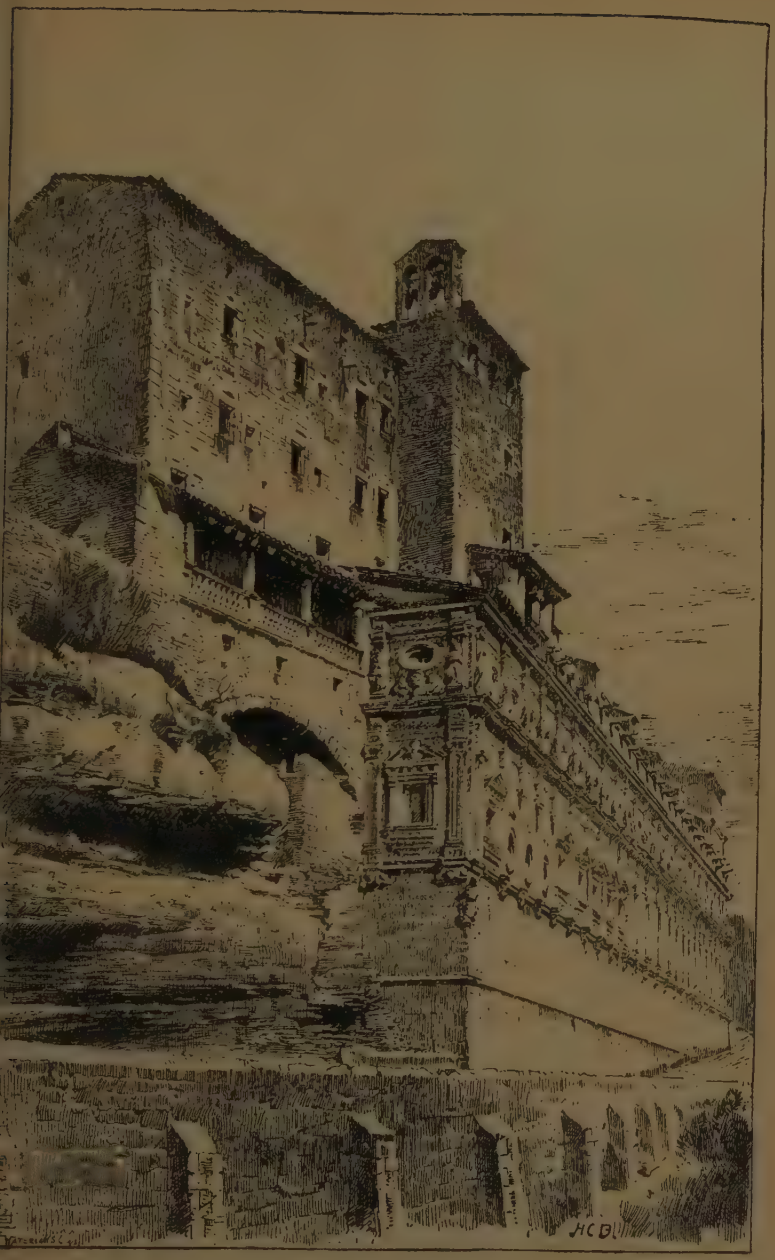
It was after the revelation first mentioned that, throwing himself before the stone cross of Tort, near his cave, he saw about it a luminous snake spotted with eyes of fire, which were not eyes. He declared himself to have seen the same apparition in the Hospital of St. Lucy at Manresa; when it first inspired pleasure, followed by a reaction of depression. Now it only repelled him, and he knew it for a diabolical illusion. He saw it often afterwards, on the road to Paris, for example, but it always vanished when he smote at it with his staff. The seeming purposelessness of this vision contrasts so much with his other experiences that, were it not for its frequent recurrence under various conditions, one might think it a product of weakened and overwrought nerves.

Meanwhile the fame of Ignatius had spread through Manresa, where he had begun the course of public preaching and instruction which he was henceforth to pursue wherever he went. He instructed the children, he talked to their elders; and besides Ines Pascual and Andrès Amigant, who took him into his house during the prostration which followed his illness in the Dominican Convent, not a few men and women of position rallied to his teachings. The ladies communicated every Sunday—an extraordinary procedure in those times, and one that roused a sharp criticism among the lovers of things as they were. But he here

found no actual disciples, none whom he judged fit to become his followers ; and his Order was now a more or less definite design in his mind. At the St. Lucy Hospice one Saturday, as he assisted at Compline, he fell into a trance, lasting, 'tis said, till the next Saturday, on emerging from which he repeated only, "O Jesus! Jesus!" His first disciples believed that the details of the Order were revealed to him during that trance. He himself declared to Everard Mercurian, a future General of the Society, that its first inception came to him while he was meditating on the kingdom of Christ. His statement does not belie his followers' belief: the first sketch may have come to him at one time, the explicit plan have been disclosed to him at another ; or he may have been meditating as he related when the trance fell upon him. But what is certain is, that for any point of his Constitutions, when he was asked the reason, he ever replied, "Thus I saw it at Manresa."

CHAPEL OF SANTA LUCIA AND OF THE TRANCE, MANRESA

Already, then, he knew that he was to found an Order, and already the plan of that Order was more or less detailed in his mind. But, save that it was to win souls to God, the true work of his Society



EXTERIOR OF THE CAVE AT MANRESA

was still hidden from him. His mind was fixed on the Holy Land. He felt himself called to initiate his work by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there, he fancied, might be found the seat of his labours. Not peculiar was this fancy to the young Spanish captain: it was, indeed, an ideal, an ambition, deep-rooted in the mediæval mind, a fruit of the Crusades. The Assisian Saint was possessed by it, and began by an attempt to seek the missioner's and martyr's crown in the East. The little Teresa, in her girlish ardour, was "for the Moors and martyrdom," as sings her English laureate, Crashaw, in his glorious Hymn. Ignatius, the reader of romances, the heavenly Quixote, chivalric (like his contemporary, Bayard) in an unchivalric age, one of the nation which has clung to the scorned traditions of the knightly past—Ignatius, like the small Teresa, had the mediæval aspiration hot at heart. He dreamed for himself and his Order in Palestine the career of his follower, Francis Xavier, in the Indies.

To such an emprise his whole conception might well seem native. Soldier to the core and to the last, in the opulent complexity of his character militarism had the lead—albeit a knightly militarism. His Order, in its conception, was martial. For him no ringing the changes on existing and traditional models: the Church should have an Order, like Cromwell's army, on a new model. The parallel is not inapt. As the ebbing cause of the Commonwealth turned when Cromwell organised his Ironsides, and afterward on their new model the army of the Eastern Counties, so the ebbing cause of Catholicism turned when Captain Iñigo organised his Free Lances. No term, this, of

fancy, but gallant truth. Italy, wherein Spain was warring, had long been the chosen field of the

INTERIOR OF THE CAVE AT MANRESA

renowned Free Companies, disciplined soldiers of fortune who, under brilliant leaders, sold victory to the State which paid highest. Here is our new model. Ours, says Ignatius, are to be Saintly mercenaries, Free Companions, waged by Christ, in the

service of His Vicar, firmly disciplined, ready to hazard any duty and be flung on any point at the first word of their leader.

Hospital of St. Lucy, Manresa

The very name of them remembered this ideal — the Company of Jesus. "Society" is the word of a later day, when "Companies" had forgotten everything but the associations of the mart. Ignatius, half captain, half knight-at-arms, might well therefore think of those military Orders which took their rise in Palestine, and deem that he was about to launch against the infidel a new Order of the Temple with subtler arms. He was not aware of the religious war up-blazing in the West, nor that his crusade awaited him in Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE Excalibur of Ignatius was now forged; the Spiritual Exercises which he had evolved from his own experience at Manresa—a graduated process of religious preparation based on subtle spiritual psychology—a turnstile through which only the fit and few could pass.

Crucifix of Ignatius

Taught by experience that over-austerity not only crippled the body for practical work, but was an impediment in the religious life, he mitigated the extremity of his fasts and penances. At all points he had been perfervid, and he checked his perfervour, the natural error of his strenuous impetuosity. He had neglected his appearance, and suffered his nails to grow, till the boys jeered at the unkempt, unshorn man as "Father Sack." Now, to shun singularity, he trimmed his hair a little, and changed his sackcloth for two short coats of rough grey, with a cap of like colour. He put on shoes; and with a rosary round his neck was ready for travel. Lamented by all of good repute in Manresa, he took leave of Doña Ines, and started for Barcelona, companioned by her brother, Canon Antonio Pujol, Master of Ceremonies and confessor to the Archbishop of Tarragona. From Barcelona he would embark for Gaeta, go thence to Rome, where he must obtain his pilgrim's licence from the Pope, and thence to

BARCELONA : TIME OF IGNATIUS

Venice for Cyprus and the East. It was a dangerous journey, for Rhodes had fallen, and the Turks were masters in the Mediterranean, which their vessels swept. He had no money for his passage; but this never troubled him. Uniformly he waited on Providence for such matters. At Barcelona he had to tarry for a ship; and consumed the time after the manner which he made his rule during such temporary sojourn in any town, and which may here be stated once for all. Seven hours were given to prayer: during the remainder he tended the sick, begged in the streets, and distributed what he received among the poor, after satisfying his own scanty needs.

He had left an Ines at Manresa; here, too, the charity and piety of woman awaited him. Doña Isabel Roser was living a retired religious life, and caring for her blind husband. In the church of Santa Maria del Mar—Our Lady of the Sea—listening to a sermon, she saw, sitting on the altar-steps, a grey, emaciated man, with a cluster of children about him. It seemed to her that a halo compassed his head, and an inward urgence bade her summon him. She feared an hallucination; but, after returning home and taking counsel with her husband, sought Ignatius out, and brought him back to share their meal. His talk of spiritual things exercised the spell which it never failed to exercise on those of any goodwill, and it was the beginning of a long friendship.

One service Doña Isabel did him at once. She advised him against the crazy ship by which he was about to travel. He deferred to the counsel; and the ship in fact perished at sea. In another vessel he secured a passage for the love of God—

a coin that is scarce current with skippers nowadays. But he had to find his own provisions, and in begging these (he would take nothing, be it noted, from Doña Isabel) he had a sharp encounter

Pope Adrian VI.
(*From an Engraving in the Hope Collection, Oxford*)

with another dame, who passed shrewd comment on Roman pilgrims in general and on the vagrancy of Ignatius in particular. Her son had turned vagabond, and this sharpened her tongue: but the humility of the Saint's answer moved Señora Cepilla Rocaberti to penitence and alms, so that he left behind him another friend.

THE PIAZZA OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE, WHERE IGNATIUS LAY DOWN TO SLEEP

From Gaeta he passed on foot to Rome; not without some adventure; for he rescued two female pilgrims attacked by a man in a house where they slept; and he was delayed in traversing a town by his haggard face, which suggested the plague. From Adrian VI. (that Cardinal Adrian who had been Viceroy of Spain during the War of the Comuneros) he received blessing and the pilgrim's licence, and then he departed for Venice. It was a dismal journey. The money he had accepted for his passage he had, repenting, given in charity: the terror of the plague was on the land, and from his ghastly face, worn with illness and asceticism, folk fled in fear. Nor would Venice admit travellers without a health-certificate. Turning with others to Pisa for this purpose, and benighted on a plain, he was comforted by a vision of Christ, Who promised him guidance and protection. In the event, he traversed Pisa unquestioned; and in the boat, as it approached Venice, the city officials, who rigorously examined the certificates of his companions, passed him without noticing that he had none. Venice he entered by night, and lay down to sleep under the kindly shelter of arcades. But to a wealthy and charitable senator came, as it were, a voice in slumber: "What! sleepest thou in thy bed, when My poor servant and dear pilgrim lies so near thee on the bare stones?" He rose, and going forth with servants and torches found Ignatius, and brought him to his house. Marc Antonio Trevisani was this good man; afterwards he was Doge of Venice.

It was morning and Ignatius left the house; for, so much as might be, he would stay under rich roofs only for a night's shelter, as in an inn. The

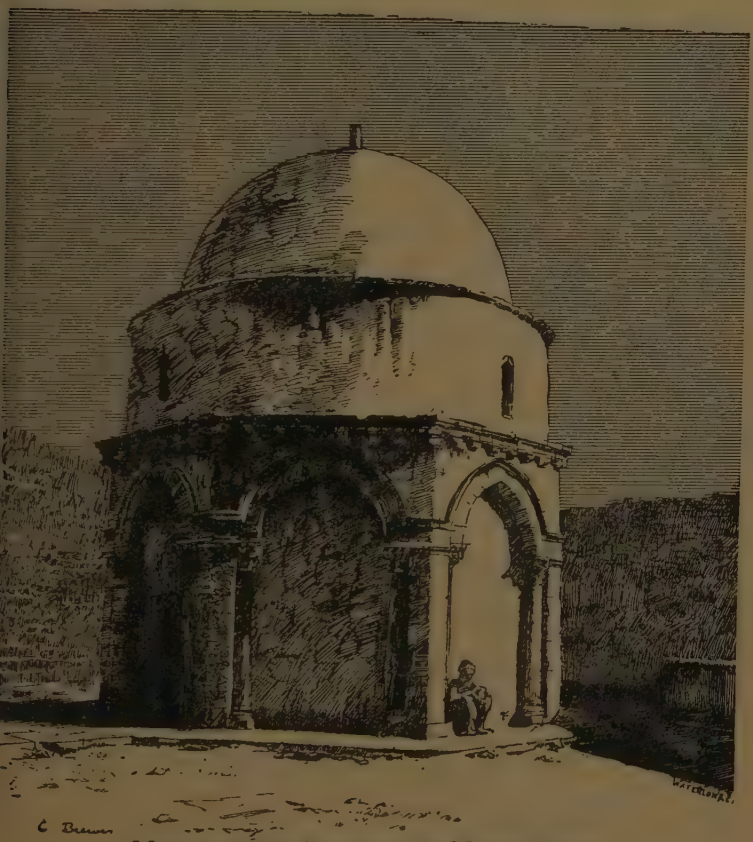
pilgrims' ship had sailed, but he refused to call on the ambassadors of his country : he had no further interest with Courts, said he, and friends would come at need. Accordingly a Biscayan merchant of his former acquaintance met him, and procured him free passage on the Admiral's ship, taking the Lieutenant-Governor to Cyprus. At this man's house he did stay till his departure, which he took despite a sickness that the doctors threatened would be fatal if he sailed. Sea-sickness, however, left him well ; and then the crew, reproved by him for their libertine manners and language, bore up to set him on a desert island. He contented himself with prayer, and a storm beat them from the island to Cyprus, where it turned out that the pilgrims' ship was detained in Famagosta harbour. Ten leagues overland tramped Ignatius, "without visible means of subsistence" ; and in due time was landed safely at Jaffa in Syria.

It was on the last day of August 1523 that he set foot in the Holy Land. He had left Manresa in January, after his ten months' solitary preparation. At noonday on September 4 the Franciscan Fathers came out from Jerusalem to meet them ; and, headed by the cross, they entered the Holy City in solemn procession. Ignatius knelt at the spots of the Agony and Passion with kisses and tender ardour ; but though his pilgrimage, to which he had been called as a preliminary of his work, was now accomplished, he still believed that his work lay here. The Franciscans undeceived him. He offered to support himself, that he might be no burthen on the poverty of the convent ; and these terms they thought possible. But when matters were laid before the Provincial, who had been absent, he decided that

the uncompromising fervour of Ignatius would be liable to embroil them with the Turks, whose regulations the Saint would never observe, and would endanger Ignatius's own liberty. He replied that he feared nothing, so long as he did not displease God ; nor (let the modern missionary note it !) would he ask them to ransom him if he were arrested. The Provincial rejoined that by disobeying him the Saint would offend God, and required him to depart. Ignatius submitted, declining even to look at the Papal Bull, which conferred on the Provincial powers of saying "go" or "stay." But, before leaving, he visited the Mount of Olives, to see the traditional print of Christ's foot in the rock—bribing the Turkish guard with a penknife ! Scarce gone, he returned, to note toward what quarter the Sacred Foot was turned—producing this time, as his toll, a pair of scissors. The monks meanwhile had taken alarm, and sent after him an Armenian servant. The fellow met him as he descended the mount, and roundly rated him, threatening him with his stick : but Ignatius beheld Christ before him in the air, and let himself be haled homeward filled with interior joy.

Still hoping in a return he was never to make, he sailed for Cyprus. There were three vessels, a Turk and two Venetians. One Venetian, a goodly ship, refused him passage for love of God, bidding him walk on the water, as the Saints had done ; the other, a crazy little craft, received him. The inhospitable ship went ashore on the Cyprus coast, her people barely escaping ; the Turk foundered with all hands ; and alone the little craft which bore the fortunes of the Jesuits made its stormy way to Venice. A few days' rest, with a charitable

host, who gave him money for expenses, and a piece of cloth to double round him because of his weak stomach (for the Manresan penances had left



MOSQUE OF THE ASCENSION ON MOUNT OLIVET

Ignatius, too, one of the world's great dyspeptics), and he was forth on foot towards Spain.

For, during the voyage, he had reached an extraordinary decision. He was now clear that Palestine was not to be the nest of his Order; and while he was reading the Gospel in which it is said, "They understood none of these things," it

was borne in on him that without proper education his labours would be of none avail. Nothing strikes us with more amazed admiration than the unappalled determination which went straight to the root of every need, and stayed for no cost. As he had acted when he made the surgeons break and saw again his maimed leg (that leg which by its permanent halt and shortness reminded him what he had endured for world's glory), so he acted now. He resolved to set himself to school, to learn from the beginning his Latin rudiments, and sit among the lads. He did it. Among the children Isabel Roser had seen him sitting, with a light about his head : among the children he was to sit again, surely now too with a light about his head, though none might see it.

He started across the wind-swept Apennines to Genoa, through a country filled with French and Spanish troops. At Ferrara he got rid of his pieces ; giving to one beggar after another who asked him in the church, till he had to avow himself penniless, and the astonished mendicants hailed him " A Saint ! A Saint ! " Then he was taken by Spanish outposts, and brought before their officer, stripped nigh naked by their search of him. He dreaded torture as a spy, and was sore tempted to resume courtly manners, in lieu of the rustic speech which his habitual thirst for contempt made him cultivate. But he resisted the temptation, and remained so dumb before his questioner that the officer asked the soldiers if they did not know a fool from a spy, and discharged him. On Ignatius they revenged the rebuke by beating him. In evil plight, he stumbled next on a French post, and was promptly haled before a French officer. The

THE NEW GATE, BARCELONA

Frenchman was better than his own compatriot, and ordered him to have every attention, saying that he came himself from near the Saint's native Guipuzcoa. At Genoa the commander of the Spanish galleys, Don Rodrigo Portundo, a Biscayan, recognised him and gave him passage to Barcelona. With Genoese Andrea Doria (fighting for France) at its heels, Ignatius's flotilla had much ado to make Barcelona.

There his present troubles had end. Isabel Roser received him ; Ines Pascual was there, and gave him a room in her house ; her brother, Canon Antonio Pujol, offered him the use of his library ; and finally, Doña Isabel procured a schoolmaster who was ready to teach him (*gratis*, she said) the rudiments of Latin and grammar. Now for two years Ignatius patiently learned his lessons among the boys, numbers of whom were for some time better and brighter scholars than himself. Though he curtailed some of his devotions to pursue these studies, he failed at first to fix his attention. Never was idle boy more distraught, amidst the drudgery of conjugations and declensions, by visions of green fields and happy sports than Ignatius by the religious raptures and sweetnesses which overtook him in his tasks. When he came to reckon results, he found he had profited nothing. But, he observed, he was arid enough when it came to hours of prayer. The raptures were all at the wrong time ; and he perceived the trap. Forthwith he took Master Geronimo Ardebalo, his teacher, into that church of Santa Maria del Mar where Isabel Roser had first seen him among the children, accused himself of blameworthy yielding to these distractions, and begged him henceforth

SANTA MARIA DEL MAR, BARCELONA

publicly to chasten him for such inattention, as he would any boy. At the same time he vowed to study two years with him if he could get bread and water. After this, he pursued his studies successfully, untroubled by further consolations.

He was now dressed in a decent black, of somewhat clerical look. We are told that he wore shoes—with the soles cut off, as an ingenious means of combining the requirements of penance with the absence of its ostentation. He wore also a hair-shirt under his black, begged his bread, and gave it away to the workmen and children about Ines's house (which was half cotton factory). "Allow them to eat, it makes me happy," he would say when "Mother Pascual" scolded the boys for taking it. Her son Juan afterwards declared on oath that he had seen Ignatius raised in prayer above two feet in the air, while his room was filled with a bright light. The Saint would talk with Ines's family at night about divine things, and tell the boy Juan to frequent the Sacraments, fear God's law, and obey his mother. "If you had known that guest of ours, so holy and so gentle, you would never tire of kissing the ground which his feet have touched," Juan would tell his children in later days.

It is an interesting link between two men diversely great, that Ignatius at this time, and ever after, read with delight Thomas à Kempis's "Imitation of Christ." It was his companion and exemplar: to him, as to George Eliot long afterwards, "the voice of a brother."

Ignatius soon had numerous admirers in Barcelona, among the fastidious no less than among the people, and, as always, many enemies. He was

not far, indeed, from coming to his death. Outside the city was a certain Convent of the Angels, where the nuns were very relaxed, allowing the visits even of young men in no good repute. Ignatius determined to attempt its reform, and began to visit it daily, praying for hours before the altar. The nuns observed his fervour, and called one another to look at him. At last their curiosity led some of them to address him. He rose from before the altar, and, with that sweetness which all found irresistible, began sadly and seriously to expostulate with them on the scandal they gave and the peril they were bringing on their souls. His magnetism prevailed, and in successive visits the whole convent was drawn into his net. It returned to the observance of its rule, whereupon the young men, their pastime cut off, vowed revenge, and, after twice waylaying him to no purpose, hired two Moorish slaves to administer a more effective rebuke. The Moors did their work with *trop de zèle*. They caught Ignatius on the road with poor Canon Antonio Pujol, and so savagely mauled them that the Canon died, and Ignatius was carried home insensible, where for long he lay at death's door. He could be moved only by lifting the sheet on which he lay, and that jolt caused him agony. At last the doctors pronounced his case hopeless, and he received the last Sacrament, and thereupon he recovered. Being Ignatius, one of his first acts, in the teeth of warning, was to go to the convent again. On the way a merchant, one Ribera, threw himself at his feet, avowed himself part-author of the outrage, and promised to reform his life. He had never intended to kill the Saint, who was, of course, no

Saint to common eyes, but merely an interfering layman; and he was moved to repentance chiefly by Ignatius's patience and charity in refusing any information which could have identified his assailants. We read the record of such uncomplaining abnegation; we admire, but do we imitate it? The flattery of the Saints in its sincerest form we continue to refuse them.

At Barcelona a great thing happened. There, and for the first time, Ignatius encountered men whom he judged fit to become his disciples. Many were willing, and three young men he chose—Calixto Saa, of Segovia; Juan de Arteaga y Avendaño, of Estepa; and Diego Caceres, of Segovia, who belonged to the Court of the Viceroy of Catalonia. More than their names we need not mention, since none of them proved faithful; though Calixto had gone so far as to imitate Ignatius's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, at the Saint's recommendation. For the present, however, they conformed to his way of life, and even accompanied him in his next move to Alcalá.

He had now finished his two years' course, and, after examination (at his own request), by a learned theologian, was pronounced fit for higher studies. At the University of Alcalá its founder, Cardinal Ximenes, had provided means for the training of poor scholars, and its professors were renowned. Thither, then, Ignatius went, lamented by his poor, and the three disciples with him.

It was August 1526 when he arrived, and the schools were closed till St. Luke's Day, October 18. He lodged at first in the old hospital of the city, and there he nursed a young Frenchman, Jean, page to the Viceroy of Navarre, Don Martin de

Cordova, who had been wounded in an affray. As a result, Jean joined the small band of his disciples. In Alcalá, Ignatius became acquainted also with Esteban and Diego d'Eguia, first cousins of Francis Xavier, who were students at the University. Both had hearts visited by the love of God ; they helped him freely in his charities, and Diego one day opened his chest and bade Ignatius take what he pleased for his poor. To begin with, indeed, the Saint made more progress in charity than in study. In his characteristic ardour and eagerness to complete his training, he attended all subjects at once—logic, physics, theology, with the voluminous commentaries of the schools. Between the vastness of the effort, the lack of method, and his absorption in teaching and charity, here as at Barcelona he made small way. And so it remained till the end of his connection with the University.

His work at Alcalá is not a record of successful study, but the beginnings of successful apostolate. The mere task of begging the means for his livelihood at the University must have taken him from his studies. Superfluous alms he bestowed upon the poor, especially those not born to poverty who were ashamed to beg ; and gave, besides, personal service to the sick, both privately and in the hospital. A merchant of his native Azpeitia detected him attending a poor sick woman, and left with her a message proffering monetary aid in her pious layman's charities. But he scared the bird ; from the moment the message was delivered, Ignatius commended her to God and returned to the cottage no more. Ignatius was now catechising in the streets, and holding spiritual conferences both in the hospital and in the schools. The town

began to flow towards him, and the weapon of the "Spiritual Exercises" found full employment. One conversion made particular impression. A young man of rank was a prebendary in a cathedral, though not in Orders (a not uncommon thing before the Council of Trent); and his life was a scandal. Ignatius, the stranger, called on him, undaunted by a haughty reception, requested a private interview, and laid before him in plain terms his reputation in the town, and the discredit he brought on religion. The young man threatened to throw him out of the window unless he went at once. Ignatius mildly and fervently kept to his task; and, when the servants were readmitted, it was to bid them lay a cover for the intruder. With much ado Ignatius escaped being sent home on a mule, with torches before him; and the youth became one of his most attached friends.

The leader's faculty of control and personal magnetism were making themselves felt; so that Alcalá beheld the unheard-of sight of a volunteer teacher, with priests among his listeners—and this in Spain, the very land of precedent and tradition. More in sorrow than in anger, the formalists intimated that it would not do. Ignatius came in contact with the Inquisition. Courteous, devout Spain appreciated and desired Ignatius—on its own terms; but of his Order it would have nothing on any terms. And that was the issue—unrealised at the time—whether the Jesuit Order should strike root in the Peninsula, or give to another land the glory of its birth. Formalism was at once the strength and weakness of the nation. It held her to the ideals of chivalry when they had

perished from among other nations ; it held her to the ancient Faith when it was shaking or crashing down among other nations ; it held her to the last unbending championship of forlorn prescriptions and perishing causes ; but the inalienable fidelity of this Oxford among the nations was purchased at the cost of a Chinese rigour and arrest of development. Yet Ignatius might well think that the prosperous soil for his future Order lay in the kingdom of Charles V., whose empire overshadowed Europe, and threw its superfluous armies to the gateways of the setting sun. But that was a hollow supremacy, not fated to endure. The head of the rigid opposition which baffled the new enterprise was, of course, the Inquisition—that device of the Spanish kings, surely reproved by Pope after Pope, which carried into the Church the leaden formalism they had already bound about the State. The Spanish horror of new ways became ecclesiastically vocal, and was formulated, through it. Because Error was innovating, even Truth must not go abroad but in the habit of prescription.

If Spain were an unfit cradle, it was, however, rich in material for the Order. It could give its loyalty to tradition, its chivalrous nobility, and, above all, that ardent mysticism, that grasp of religion as an intimate human matter which distinguishes the country of Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross. So the Providence which willed that Spain should send Ignatius forth was preparing for him a little Spain in Paris. Spain transplanted from Spain, and with a foreign cross, should give Ignatius his Society. Now, therefore, the Inquisitors—not harshly (allowing for

sixteenth-century indifference to human suffering), not bigotedly, in the evil sense of the term—displayed a kindly and paternal determination to have an Ignatius of their own ; which an Ignatius having to do his work, not theirs, might in no wise pretend to be. This teaching stranger, with disciples in a special garb, who held secret conference with his followers, was denounced to the Inquisition at Toledo. Down came Don Alonso de Mexia and Don Miguel Carrasco (the latter a Canon of San Justo) to discover whether perchance this was a recrudescence of an heretical sect which had before troubled the diocese of Seville. They examined the persons with whom he lodged, and such as knew of his teachings ; but, finding nothing suspicious, left Juan Rodriguez de Figueroa, Grand Vicar of the Archbishop of Toledo, to finish the matter, and hied them back. Figueroa sent for the new teacher and his companions, told them of the inquiry, and permitted them to continue their teaching : only, they must vary the colour of their dress, to avoid the appearance of a Religious Order. A later edict obliged them to wear shoes !

This was the opening skirmish only. The serious conflict began with a couple of ladies. As women had been the first to help Ignatius, so they were the first to get him into trouble. The one act came of their charity, the other of their wilfulness and want of discretion. Maria del Vado and Louisa Velasquez, widow and young daughter, had for some time been among his followers, when they conceived the idea of passing their lives in going from hospital to hospital nursing the sick. Forbidden this, they took advantage of his absence

at Segovia (where he was attending his comrade Calixto, taken ill) to set off with one female attendant in pilgrims' garb towards the shrine of Our Lady of Guadeloupe and of St. Veronica at Jaen. Hue and cry; and their guardian, who occupied the head chair of theology, laid the escapade at the door of Ignatius. He headed a new appeal to Figueroa; and when the Saint returned from Segovia, no charge vouchsafed, he was laid by the heels in prison. As the procession passed to prison, it had to make way for a very different procession: the dignitaries of the town doing its honours to the young Marquis de Lombay, son of the Duke of Gandia. Little did the Marquis dream that the poor prisoner was his future Father and General. For the Marquis de Lombay was Francis Borgia. Strange, even among the many strange meetings in this ironic life!

His imprisonment was only a detention, not in the criminal gaol, and he was allowed visitors, to whom he spoke of divine things. There were many distinguished callers, and noble ladies in particular offered their intercession with authority. But he would have none of it: "The Love which had brought him thither could take him thence at His holy Will." Informations were again taken concerning him, with the former result; and then Figueroa interviewed him with a notary. Asked if he kept the Sabbath, he rejoined that he kept it in honour of Our Lady; but knew naught of Jewish customs, since there were no Jews in his country. He admitted knowledge of the errant ladies, not of their intention. Figueroa then told him that this was the one cause of his imprisonment, laying his hand smilingly on the Saint's

shoulder; but he would have been better pleased, said he, had Ignatius been careful to avoid novelty in his discourses. "My lord," rejoined the Saint, "I should not have thought it had been any novelty to speak of Christ to Christians." An unanswerable answer. But here, as throughout these examinations, one seems to perceive the horror of novelty even in mere method. To be unlike others is the cardinal sin in the estimation of the multitude. How are you to know what such a man may do? How are you ever to feel at home and comfortable with him? He may be right and even wise in his fashion, but how are you to know it? And if you are to be continually investigating his sayings and doings, good-bye to all pleasant jog-trot tranquillity! Whereas the whole trouble could be avoided if he would only take the ways of other people. The procedure of the Spanish Inquisition seems almost to have crystallised this attitude into a dogma. Throughout it was Ignatius's one but intolerable fault that he would not be like other people. Sentence might turn on this point or that, but his distressing originality was the real offence.

In the present case, after waiting some weeks that the depositions of the wandering ladies might be compared with those of Ignatius, Figueroa released him as sound in life and teaching; but ordered him and his disciples to adopt the dress of other students, and forbade, on pain of banishment and even excommunication, public preaching or private conference till the expiry of his four years' theological course. Since he protested lack of means to make the required change in garb, a priest was procured to assist him in begging the

UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA

needed money. His backwardness in study gave some colour to this edict; but it was fatal to his entire way of life, and while other universities lay open to him he was not minded to be muzzled by authorities who confessed his doctrine blameless. Therefore, after consulting and gaining approbation and assistance from the Archbishop of Toledo (who would even have had Ignatius move for the rescinding of the sentence), he started for Salamanca. At this Spanish Cambridge, where the noble rubbed elbows with the sizar (or his Spanish equivalent), the suspected layman might finish his studies without laying down his apostolate.

But not in Spain were those ill-starred studies to be completed. His disciples preceded him to Salamanca, and his fame; with such effect that he was at once the centre of spiritual ferment. At Alcalá he had been something over a year; he had not been a fortnight at this fresh university when Salamanca repeated and improved upon Alcalá. It came in the smooth shape of a notification from his Dominican confessor that he had better dine at the Convent next Sunday, and prepare for strict questioning. So after dinner, in one of the chapels, before Sub-Prior, confessor, and another of the brethren, Ignatius and Calixto were examined. Why did they not dress as other people (eyeing poor Calixto's garments). Calixto's student garb had been given to a poor man. "Charity begins at home," grumbles the Sub-Prior. Then, after a flattering exordium, came question of his studies. Their insufficiency admitted, how, then, did he preach? They only spoke with people of divine things, replied Ignatius. Ah, now we come to it! Of what divine things? Of virtue, so as to

make folk seek after it; of vice, to make them shun it, was the answer. Then the Sub-Prior unmasked his batteries. The Saint was not learned, yet spoke of vice and virtue. "These are things of which no one can speak unless he has been taught by the schools or the Holy Ghost. You have not been taught by the schools, therefore you have been taught by the Holy Ghost. That is what we want to know."

Confronted with this very mediæval syllogism, Ignatius thought it better to say no more; and was at once charged with refusing to declare his teachings, at a time when errors were abroad. "I will say no more than I have said," rejoined Ignatius, "unless before my superiors, who have a right to question me." That ended the inquiry; and the pair were held fast in the Convent while matters were laid before the Grand Vicar Frias. The brethren had free access to them, and there was the usual difference of opinion; some accepting the pious layman's discourse as proof of his enlightenment, others calling for examination. It came in three days, with the committal of the two to a room over the common prison, where they were tethered round the ankles by a single chain to a pillar in the middle of the room, so that the movement of one involved the movement of the other. The charity of the many who sympathised with them provided the bedding and other necessaries of which the authorities left them destitute. They were examined separately by the Grand Vicar, who demanded and received all their papers, notably the "Spiritual Exercises," and the names of their companions. This was followed by the lodging of Caceres and Arteaga in the common prison

underneath their own room ; French Jean's youth pleading exemption. Ignatius, after his wont, refused intermediation, and praised God for his chains with much joy. To Francisco de Mendoza, compassionating him in a later period of this imprisonment, he said it showed him to have little love of Christ in his heart, if he thought it so sore a thing to wear bonds for Christ's sake. "Salamanca has not fetters, manacles, and chains so many as I long to wear for God." And to sympathising Religious he professed that he found it strange they, of all folk, should not know the hidden riches of Christ's Cross.

At last he was formally examined, before Grand Vicar Frias and three Doctors of Theology. Always wary despite his ardour, and submissive despite his pertinacity, he declared himself unlearned and submitted anything he might say to the censure of the Church. With such proviso, he answered questions theological, and even, under pressure, a trying point of Canon law, scarce fair to demand of such a man ; all to the satisfaction of his judges. Then said they : Let us hear how you address the people ; discourse to us, they suggested, on the First Commandment.

Here was a task after Ignatius's heart ; and the result was as when (in the legend) the impugned dancer was invited to give practical proof of her dancing before the ecclesiastical judges. The Divine Love of which he spoke fired his speech ; the judges listened rapt : when he ceased they rose with profound respect, and, addressing him in brief favourable speech, retired. Like all these Spanish Inquisitors, they were honest men, whose prepossessions yielded at once to the flaming sin-

cerity of the Saint. But like all the Spanish Inquisitors, their respect for his personality could not countervail their reverence for ecclesiastical red tape, their faith in the sacred virtues of precedent and formalism. Even now, their general satisfaction had some abatement, because Ignatius in the "Spiritual Exercises" had provided for distinguishing between mortal and venial sin. A puzzling matter for theologians, how should a professedly unlearned man take on himself to lay down rules in regard to it? "Whether I have spoken true is for you to judge," Ignatius had answered: "if then it be not true, condemn the definition." Like most of his answers, this was final and irrefragable. They could not condemn his rules; but they still thought it vastly improper that he should make them. It was much like the old story of Christ's impropriety in healing on the Sabbath day.

Shortly after this examination the criminals in the prison escaped, but the Saint and his fellows refused to avail themselves of the open doors; and this incident shamed the authorities into giving them better quarters, without unfettering them, nevertheless. After three weeks' arrest, judgment was finally given; when it proved that the temerity of distinguishing mortal and venial sins still vexed the excellent Inquisitors. Ignatius and his comrades were absolved from all charges, and given liberty for their apostolic labours, with the most flattering commendations from the judges. Only, until they had finished their four years' theology, they were not to lay down distinctions between mortal and venial sin. Again formalism had triumphed. It was the Alcalá result in a subtler

form. For Ignatius could not teach or guide souls without such distinction in some shape, or giving his enemies occasion to accuse him of trenching upon it; so elementary a part does it bear in the spiritual life. Again the Inquisition, with all respect and courtesy, had virtually debarred him from his apostolate, so long as he remained a student. It was the end of the obstinate struggle between Ignatius and the Spanish dons. He now entered something like a protest. He promised obedience while he was within the tribunal's jurisdiction, but reserved interior liberty; since they had virtually prohibited his teaching, without condemning it. This meant withdrawal, and the Inquisitors tried to prevent it; but the Saint adhered to his submissive protest. Three weeks later, driving an ass which carried his books and clothes, he left for Barcelona; and from Barcelona, with a small sum provided by his friends, he departed on foot for Paris. It was about the end of 1528. His four disciples remained to finish their course at Salamanca.

They were to rejoin him no more. He was to take nothing with him from Spain but the lessons and graces of his preparation. In Paris his Order awaited him. Spain was not to afford him even a theological training. With all his persistence Ignatius had tried to force on it a great Saint and a great Order; and it had refused to assimilate the Saint except without his Order.

By a strange chance, throughout this struggle the Founder of the Society which passes as the suppressor of religious individuality stood for individuality against autocratic formalism. But he combated with an unalterable and patient respect

for authority which is an example to every religious reformer, every man with a new message to a sluggish world.

Spain was no place for him because, seeming

Collège Montaigu, Paris, in which Ignatius made his Classical Studies

alive, she was but a swathed mummy, which would fall to pieces when its bands were removed. She had no national part in that agitated European life on and amid which his Order was destined to act. So far was he himself from conceiving its action, that even at the crucial moment his mind recurred to its first project and the beloved Holy Land. But Providence saw clearly, and, by devious-seeming ways, drew him to his end. Saint and Order yet ungotten went forth now from Spain ; whither the first was never to return save as a brief visitor, the second to return and to remain in conquest.

CHAPTER III

TO still-mediæval Paris, Ignatius went—mediæval in structure and outward character, though intellectually and spiritually in process of transition. A city most fair and (like all mediæval cities) most foul, its picturesque streets infested with filth and garbage. Most fair, too, was its world-famed university, a veritable town of fifty colleges and schools, almost monopolising the south bank of the Seine. Montmartre, still a holy and secluded hill, overlooked its pleasant meadows. Some sixteen thousand students were gathered in or about its numerous buildings, divided into the four "nations" of the French, Picards, Normans, and Germans. The French embraced the three Latin nations—France, Spain, Italy—and Greece. Among them, therefore, Ignatius was included.

Always ready to learn from his own errors, Ignatius now resolved to profit by his friends' help and to economise the time heretofore spent in alms-begging. Above all, he would not repeat his mistake of adventuring on too many subjects at once. At Alcalá and Salamanca he had mastered nothing properly: with his wonted courageous thoroughness, he determined in Paris to start anew from the very foundations, and began therefore as a student at the Collège Montaigu, a mere grammar-school scholar, once more among lads. There again was the quality that made Ignatius truly a rock upon which anything might be built—his amazing and unflinching thoroughness. Whatever he undertook he laboured from the roots upwards. But his plan of dispensing with alms was frustrated. A fellow-student to

whom he had entrusted his money spent it for his own use. Ignatius had to leave his lodgings for the Hospital of St. James of Compostella, at a distance from the College, and was again reduced to alms.

HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA, PARIS

Finally, by advice, he adopted the plan of begging in some foreign country during the two months' summer vacation, raising thereby enough to keep him as boarder in one of the colleges. For two years he thus spent his summer vacation in Flanders, and the third he spent in our own England.

Having diminished his devotions for the sake of study, in which he was now resolute to succeed, for the first year he refrained from his usual Conferences. But he increased his austerities, being now relieved from the dyspepsia which had beset him since Manresa: every day he heard Mass, every day

he strictly examined his conscience, and he confessed and communicated each week. These things do not need repetition or emphasis : in such a man we look for them as a matter of course, as we look for a soldier to perform the rigorous habitual exercises of active campaign. Nor, though the Conferences were resumed only in the second year, was there any slackening in the ardour of his general apostolate. It was, however, limited chiefly to his Spanish countrymen ; for, like Sir Andrew, he had not the tongues.

Disciples came, and with the disciples the scandals of Toledo and Salamanca. Three of these followers, after passing through the " Spiritual Exercises," in accordance with Ignatius's usual practice, had sold books and possessions, distributed the proceeds among the poor, and retired to the Hospital of St. James, where Ignatius had resided until his vacation journeys relieved the necessities caused by his fellow-student's old breach of trust. These three were the bachelor De Castro of Toledo, member of the Sorbonne ; the student Peralta ; and Amador the Biscayan, belonging to the College of Ste. Barbe. Furious were the Parisian Spaniards; furious Gouvea, Rector of Ste. Barbe and Amador's lecturer; furious Dr. Ortiz, Regent at Montaigu, whose pupils were De Castro and Peralta. In all these men was but one mind, and it was against Ignatius. He was denounced to the Inquisition as an heretical teacher and a villainous misleader of youth. A sorcerer, this Ignatius, they declared, who had fled from Paris before the discovery of his hidden iniquities.

For, as it chanced, Ignatius was really absent. The embezzler of his money had fallen sick at Rouen on the way to Spain, and had written for

aid to the man he had wronged. Ignatius did not hesitate ; he walked barefoot and fasting to Rouen —offering this penance for the youth's conversion. He nursed the delinquent to recovery, paid his passage and provided for his journey to Spain, and gave him introductory letters to the three disciples left behind at Salamanca. Then, in Rouen streets, a messenger put into his hands a letter from a friend in Paris, telling him what was there going forward. He took the man forthwith to a notary, and had a certificate drawn up and signed by two witnesses that he had started for Paris so soon as he had received the letter. Witnesses, moreover, and notary he got to companion him part of the way. All this was to give evidence that he had not, as was alleged, fled from the charges against him. The Dominican and doctor of theology, Matteo Ori, was Parisian Grand Inquisitor. To him went Ignatius so soon as he had entered Paris streets, the dust of travel not washed from him ; gave in his certificate, and submitted himself to inquiry, might it only be immediate, so that he could begin his philosophical course on the proximate feast of St. Remigius. Ori, very unlike the Spanish Inquisitors, said at once that he was satisfied of the Saint's innocence, and authorised him to resume his studies without anxiety as to any proceedings against him. So ended the first attack on Ignatius.

The three disciples, meanwhile, were forcibly dragged from the Hospital by their friends, and engaged to postpone their ascetic schemes until they should have finished their course in the schools. It was the end of their career as disciples of Ignatius, though two, at least, are known to have become excellent ecclesiastics in other fashion—one

as a Canon of Toledo, one as a Carthusian. It seemed as though the stars in their courses fought against Ignatius's endeavour to gather round him a band of trustworthy followers. Three he had left at Salamanca, and they were not to stand. Three more had now been detached from him by the successful machinations of his enemies—those critics who sprang up in every fresh city where he began his work. He persevered, unmoved; and his reward was not now very far distant. But first he had to confront new attacks, new persecutions.

It was now the October of 1529; Ignatius had successfully completed his elementary studies at Montaigu, and (steadily continuing his resolution to accomplish *seriatim* the studies he had rashly tried to master in one feverish onset), he began his course of philosophy at the Collège Ste. Barbe, governed by his late antagonist, the Portuguese Gouvea. Both to gain leisure for study, and to evade somewhat of the opposition he had recently encountered, he determined to avoid further proselytism till he had taken his degrees. As with all truly great men, his firmness was far from obstinacy; he was ever ready to confess the lessons of experience, though they thwarted his dearest prepossessions. And for a time all went peacefully, so that one of his friends congratulated him on the change. "They leave me at rest because I do so little now for my neighbours' salvation," he answered; "wait till I am at work again, and see then what will happen."

His only trouble was the old Barcelona trouble, that spiritual meditation thrust itself upon his studies. He had to warn his room-mate, Peter

THE LATIN QUARTER, PARIS: TIME OF IGNATIUS

A. ENTRANCE TO STE. BARBE. B. RUE AND CHURCH OF ST. SYMPHORIEN. C. COLLÈGE MONTAIGU. D. COLLÈGE CHOLETS. E. ST. ETIENNE DES PRÉS. F. RUE ST. JACQUES. G. PORTE ST. JACQUES. H. DOMINICAN CHURCH AND CONVENT (JACOBINS). I. ABBEY OF STE. GENEVIÈVE. K. RUE ST. ETIENNE DES PRES. L. CHURCH OF ST. HILAIRE.

Favre, who privately aided and supervised his studies, against the mention of any spiritual subject, lest he should wander from the matter in hand. The sole incident which broke this brief truce was that he had for a while to reside outside Ste. Barbe through attending a case of plague. It is told that after this act of charity a pain in his hand suggested to his quick imagination that he had caught the plague. Revolting against his fear, he thrust the hand into his mouth, with—"If you have the plague in your hand, you shall have it in your mouth also."

But he could not withhold from talking to his fellow-students concerning divine things; they began to gather about him, and soon the enmities broke out afresh. Like Newman at Oxford, but in fashion and degree more fervid, he could not prevent this virtue going out of him. The students were accustomed to hold public disputations on Sundays and holidays; and Ignatius's followers neglected these gatherings to pray and communicate in the church. An influx of spirituality was sore needed in the University. The Professors appear to have been lax and unpunctual in their lectures, to have taken small care of academical discipline, and as little heed of moral discipline. Students attended lectures as they pleased, and did very much also as they pleased outside the colleges. But these Sunday disputations were naturally encouraged by the authorities, who were enabled thereby to estimate their scholars' proficiency. It stimulated the young men's zeal for study. Now here came this meddling Spaniard, sapping that zeal which, at best, it was so hard to foster! From the professional

standpoint they had a clear case ; and Peña, whose lectures were affected by the abstention, was

GATEWAY OF STE BARBE. PARIS : TIME OF IGNATIUS

especially violent. The Rector Gouvea, mindful of his old grievance against Ignatius, was easily won to sympathy with the professorial plaint. There was a law by which any disorderly student could

be publicly flogged. Masters and students were convened after dinner in the College hall: the masters stood in double row, armed with rods; and the offender, stripped to the waist, passed between them. Gouvea resolved to flog Ignatius. The Saint's friends told him what was determined against him, and that it would be put in force as soon as he set foot within the College precincts. Mortified as he was at a threat so ignominious, the spirit of the Spanish noble leaped to flame. A moment, and he trampled it under.

"Ass!" he told himself, "it is vain for thee to kick against the pricks: on, or I will drag thee thither!"

Yet, however ready to accept the shame himself, the effect on his weaker followers was a thing to be thought of. He resolved to interview the Rector. He entered the Collège Ste. Barbe—close clanged the gates behind him—out rang the bell. The caged rebel quietly asked to see the Rector. He laid his position frankly before Gouvea, his reasons for shrinking from a punishment which, if it had affected only himself, he would not have shunned. It is scarce to be supposed that Gouvea was concerned for the weak knees of the Spaniard's disciples: he would rather have rejoiced to detach them from Ignatius. Call it magnetism, call it the hand of God, or call it comprehensively both: that compulsive power radiating from his speech and eyes and personal presence conquered again, as it had so often conquered before. Gouvea, the embittered Gouvea, wept.

Masters and students were awaiting the expected punishment in the hall. Rector and culprit enter

OLD BROAD STREET AND AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON, AS SEEN BY IGNATIUS

together ; and before they can well ask themselves what it may mean, the Rector is kneeling at the delinquent's feet. Before the whole concourse, gathered to witness Ignatius's degradation, Gouvea implored Ignatius's forgiveness, and the forgiveness of God for the offence against His servant. So, gentlemen of Spain and enemies of fanaticism, our plot has exploded against ourselves ; and this Guy Fawkes bonfire, which was to consume Ignatius to the last rag of repute, has become a fire of glory, which routs and scatters these enemies of fanaticism as they have never been routed yet, and leaves Ignatius, for the first time in his patient struggle, triumphant.

Of course, before so extraordinary a demonstration of respect from the Rector, the human instinct —call it sycophancy, or what you will—which is not necessarily cast out with the devil by Holy Orders, bowed with supplest back before the successful Spanish innovator, approved of authority. Nor was it all sycophancy : it is astonishing how good, prejudiced men open their eyes to truth when the way is led by one of their own order. Angry Peña lay down with the lamb Ignatius, and became his fast friend. Teachers and taught sought his company : the Professor of Theology, Martial, urged him to take the Doctor's degree in theology without waiting to finish his course in philosophy. Such was the triumph in Paris of the Spaniard whom his country had forbidden to teach, a man unlearned in theology. Ignatius proceeded firmly in his studies. After three years he was much eased by being able to dispense with his summer begging tours. The Flemish merchants who were his chief support

arranged to transmit their contributions to him in Paris.

But, before this, he had in the summer of 1530 visited England. An English biographer can no more pass over this English visit of Ignatius than an English biographer can pass over the English visit of Dante: yet of the Saint, as of the Poet, it can only be told that he did visit England. No

The Chartreuse, Paris : Time of Ignatius

detail of either passage through our island is known.

More to the strict purpose is it to record that in March 1533 he took the degree of Licentiate, and in March of 1534 the degree of Master in Arts. To this, one should record, he was helped by the unfailing charity and alms of those good ladies who were his friends in Barcelona, as we know from a letter, which has been preserved, to Ines Pascual. One knows not whether more to admire his astonishing determination or his astonishing mental power, when it is reflected that he thus carried through his philosophical studies at the age of forty-four, having begun his whole education from the very elements others

acquire in boyhood. We must go back for a parallel to Cæsar, beginning his career as a supreme General at fifty: and even that is an instance less difficult and less remarkable of late achievement.

During all this time, when he was thus concentrating himself on his studies in the teeth of the difficulties created by his advanced years, he yet did not remit his work as a fisher of men. Only his conferences and public addresses were for a time abandoned. His method is interesting, not merely in itself, but because we can discern in it something of the saintly *finesse* afterwards employed by his disciple, Xavier. In truth, he adopted the holy wiles inculcated by that supremely successful fisher of men, the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He observed the dispositions of those with whom he had to do, accommodated himself to the prejudices and cherished foibles of his happy victims, ignored their affronts if they were hostile, and in this wise imperceptibly glided into their confidence. He had all Bardolph's belief in that excellent and gentleman-like word, "accommodate." Gentle, modest, yet frank—the reverse of the "wily Jesuit" of fiction, whose ways would set the honest man's teeth on edge—and with the magnetism of an ascendant personality, he gripped his man while the destined convert was conscious only of a charming comradeship. Insensibly the delighted companion found himself on the exalted acclivities of holiness. It is the method of Paul, who made himself all things to all men; it is the method of Francis Xavier, who said: "I let them go in at their door, but I take care they come out at mine." Very plain is it where Xavier learned

his divinely unprincipled sleights, his heavenly cunning.

Several stories are told of Ignatius's benevolent stratagems ; some full of compelling ardour, some of tender calculation. One has the bold impulsiveness which seizes accident like a quick general ; while it shows his readiness to use a man's private whims. Calling on a French doctor of theology,

Birthplace of St. Francis Xavier

he found him "rolling billiard balls about," and was invited to play—for what billiard-lover can resist the chance of a partner, however casual ? The visitor had never touched a cue, and declined ; but no slave to the balls is daunted by a refusal. The doctor persisted, and Ignatius suddenly agreed. Only, since he was too poor to play for money, he proposed a novel match. If he lost, he would be at the doctor's orders, as his servant, for a month. If he won, the Frenchman should do for him a single thing, to the doctor's own advantage. Amused, perhaps, and doubtless with the gambler's zest in a *bizarre* stake, the billiard-player took

the challenge. Against a novice, he was secure enough of the issue. But it is no fair game with a crank or a Saint. Ignatius won every point; and the discomfited doctor, loyal to the

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gambler's honour, asked what he was required to do. He was to go through the "Exercises" for a month. He performed his contract; those gymnastics of the spirit did their due work of development; and the Saint captured another sinner.

Another story recalls the Assisian Saint with his "Bride of Snow"; but it was to combat another's fire of ill, not his own, that our Spanish Saint took on himself the icy penance. A certain man was involved in an intrigue, which exposed him to imminent peril of life from a betrayed husband. The impetuous ardour of nature, which it was not least of Ignatius's victories to have placed under habitual curb, was, in this business, given the rein.

It was winter, and by the bridge over Gentilly lake Ignatius awaited the gallant's passage, plunged, naked, to his neck in the cold black water. There he prayed for the guilty soul, while his man drew near dreaming of unlawful love. He trod the bridge ; and a voice from the dark lake below cried suddenly on him, startling the silence. A cut-throat ? No ; a saving waylayer, and a heavenly ambuscade. It bade him to go on to risk soul and body, while his intercepter remained to do penance for the sins. Each night should find the unknown speaker there, waiting his coming and return, until God put a finish to the life and prayers of the one, or the iniquities of the other. The man was confounded, abashed, seized with remorse ; he abandoned at once his profligacy, and was swept into Ignatius's beneficent net.

CHAPTER IV

IGNATIUS had achieved the laborious and almost hopeless-seeming purpose he had set before himself; building upward from the foundations, he had completed the education necessary for his design of founding an apostolic Order, an Order of intellectual and spiritual combatants. Manresa had given him his spiritual panoply: Paris had completed his intellectual panoply. He was now ready to go forth about his Father's business.

The Captain, indeed, was ready; but where were his Company, where were his Free Lances, his *condottieri* of Christ? In Salamanca, where he had left behind the little band that was to prepare itself for the leader's call when that should come? Alack! deprived of their Captain, the little regiment had disbanded. His judgment and his hopes were betrayed in every one of them.

Through a noble Spanish lady, who served him faithfully, he had procured for Calixto a Portuguese bursary at the University of Paris, and money to join him there; but Calixto did not join him. Instead, he made two voyages to the New World, grew rich—and there was an end of Calixto the Jesuit, who never was a Jesuit. Caceres retreated to his native Segovia, turned soldier, and went to ruin. French Jean and Arteaga alone kept to Religion in diverse ways, and did not lose their calling though they forsook Ignatius. But we need not follow them. Paris, as we know, which provided for Ignatius the education which Spain denied him, helped also to provide him with his army. Yet be justice done to majestic Spain, the

THE DOMINICAN PRIORY, PARIS: TIME OF IGNATIUS

nation which, like her putative child Ireland, fell to ruin through the noble fault of over-loyalty to her past. All but one of these first Jesuits, like their founder himself, though educated in Paris were native to Spain.

First of them was Peter Favre, Ignatius's room-companion from the time he entered Ste. Barbe. His brilliant intellectual attainments caused him to be assigned the duty of assisting the new student in his private studies. So there arose an interchange of influence: Favre imparted to Ignatius his mastery of secular science, Ignatius imparted to Favre his mastery of divine science. Neither Spaniard nor Frenchman was Favre: he was a shepherd of Villaret in Geneva diocese, where, as a boy, he used to preach from a rock pulpit to the peasantry. Five years' sheep-tending, and he was placed with a master, at his own urgent request; and finally, backed by the advice of a Carthusian relative who did not live to see his advice thus come to fruit, he was sent to Paris. It was one of the innumerable instances which show the Church as the sole democratic institution of former days, the sole body which offered *la carrière ouverte aux talents*. At twelve the boy had made a vow of chastity, and in Paris he led an irreproachable life: but he was sore troubled by temptations and scruples, so that he hesitated about the completion of his University course, thought of marriage, or at best of becoming a simple priest. Through two years of this trouble, Ignatius, with the experience behind him of his own terrible Manresan struggle, led him safe. The "Exercises" crowned the process, and brought Favre to his ordination. When Ignatius saw that the moment had come,

he opened to him the design of his Order, and met with instant adhesion. Favre went home to obtain his father's consent to this new step ; and returned with it and nothing else ; so that he remained, like his master, dependent upon alms. Humble, timid, lacking in self-reliance, he gave little apparent promise of the bold and prominent part he afterwards played in the Society. It was the magnetism of his leader and associates which raised him above himself.

The second of the band was the great name of Francis Xavier. He was the youngest son of a poor but noble Navarrese family, his father Don Juan Xavier, and was therefore a Spaniard. His two elder brothers entered the army, but he elected to push his fortunes in the Church. A nature not unlike Ignatius's own in the latter's early days, he was brilliant, devoted to study, generous, full of charm, and full of ambition. He despised the lowliness of Ignatius, as Ignatius himself would have despised it in his worldly period: to his lofty and aspiring soul there seemed nothing in common between them, and—unlike Favre—he scorned the advances of the poor Spanish scholar. After but four years' study (in 1531) he had begun publicly to lecture on Aristotle at the College of Beauvais: applauded on all hands for his remarkable success, he delighted in his reputation, and seemed effectually removed from the Saint's influence. But, true to his Pauline method of being all things to all men for Christ's sake, Ignatius won him as Schiller won the hostile Goethe, by appealing to his pride in himself. He joined in the applauses bestowed on Xavier, spread his reputation and increased his following. Xavier began to incline

to such a very discerning man; nor could his generosity remain insensible to kindness so delicate and unobtrusively friendly. The barrier removed, Ignatius's magnetism soon told on him; and he was at last converted (if we are to speak of conversion in regard to a life so blameless) by the repeated maxim, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?" He came finally to share the Saint's room, and a second was added to Ignatius's new intimates. His work prevented the "Exercises," but he listened to the Saint's teachings. There was the usual interior conflict before he bowed himself wholly to the new call; but he achieved the resolution at last. Then came external obstacles. His studies were at an end, and his father recalled him to Spain, where he hoped that preferment in the Church awaited his clever son. Francis's sister Magdalen, a nun in the convent of St. Clare at Gandia, procured his stay at Paris. She begged their father to let him remain till his theological course was completed, for God had chosen him to be His messenger to the Indies, and a strong pillar of His Church. Xavier remained, to be the greatest member of the divine Free Company and Ignatius's most illustrious lieutenant, and to accomplish that dream of evangelising the heathen which the Founder was not himself destined to accomplish.

His own attraction for others was soon evidenced by an incident which came near to ending the career of Ignatius. He had a friend, one Miguel Navarro, whom he had assisted. Jealous, fearing perhaps that he might no longer command Xavier's purse, he attempted to assassinate Ignatius. He scaled the Saint's window by night; but when,

dagger in hand, he reached the top of the ladder, a voice—actual or the voice of his conscience—demanded what he did, he was terror-stricken. He leaped into the room, fell at the feet of his intended victim, confessed all, and was exhorted to reform.

Meanwhile Spain sent forward to Ignatius further recruits; yea, that Alcalá which had cast him out. To Diego Lainez of Castilian Almazan, to Alfonso Salmeron of Toledo, nineteen-year-old scholar already distinguished in Hebrew and Greek, both students at Alcalá, their countryman's Parisian fame was borne. As he passed the door of a Paris inn, two newly arrived young fellows were alighting from their beasts. Lainez recognised the man described to him, the teacher they had come so far to seek; and Ignatius learned that two more volunteers for his heroic enterprise stood in his presence. They, too, were accepted, and passed the ordeal of the "Exercises." Then one, Nicholas Alfonso Bobadilla, from a village near Leonese Palencia, sought alms of Ignatius. Successful teacher of philosophy in Valladolid, he was come to Paris for his theological course; like Xavier, aristocratic and poor. Individual and bold, he fell under his compatriot's influence. So also did another scholar of noble family, Simon Rodriguez, handsome, graceful, noble, and amiable, with a magnetic attraction for youth, but of a contemplative character, and lacking the strong and active initiative of Bobadilla or Ignatius himself. More Carmelite than Jesuit by nature was this yet distinguished Jesuit. His dying father had prophesied to the mother the religious greatness of the child in her arms, and he had been trained

from infancy for the Church. He shared Ignatius's passionate dream of a mission to the Holy Land; and this dream, which to neither was to be more than a dream, was, nevertheless, of itself a tie between them.

Yet another Ignatius sought to enlist in the growing ranks of his small but elect force: Majorcan Nadal, whose eminent qualities he divined. But Nadal took out a Testament, and, declaring it enough for him, asked what better the Saint had to offer; for otherwise he would not follow him. None the less, Ignatius's now ripened discernment of souls had not been astray, though for ten years it seemed so. At the ten years' end, Nadal became a Jesuit.

But without Nadal, the band of celestial adventurers was already formed when, in that March of 1534, Ignatius's completion of his course enabled him to begin his so long-meditated design. He could look on it with pride and hope. Even now he clung to his old obstinate idea of a Palestinian apostolate. The destined Jesuits, though many of them familiar with each other as followers of a common friend and teacher, had still no inkling of their common future. Privately and severally Ignatius sounded them, found doubts and diverse views, and bade them arm themselves by prayer and meditation for an appointed day of decision. In July 1534, they met him according to their several agreements —each supposing that to him alone the momentous proposal had been made, that he alone had been summoned to announce his decision this day. Astonished they looked round on each other:

"What! you, Xavier; you, Favre? You, Rodriguez; you, Bobadilla? You, Lainez and

Salmeron? Are we, then—is it possible?—all here with the one object? And you—the very man I would have asked for a comrade—and you, and you? If it be so (as it would seem) we are indeed stronger than I knew; and this is truly a blessed meeting!"

Something like to this were the thoughts of each as they gazed one on another, or exchanged brief and glad greeting; then, as assurance gained them, their southern natures found vent in tears, prostration, and prayers of gratitude. The leader began by prayer, and proceeded to address them. He had resolved to devote himself to God by vows of poverty, chastity, and service in Palestine. The indomitable project of converting the Holy Land was the design he unfolded to them, in this he asked their assistance. He promised lifelong fidelity to those who would be faithful to him. When he had finished, there was no longer hesitation; all were of one mind, one heart, and the mind and heart of all were one with his. But what if at Venice they should find it impossible to embark for Palestine? Wait a year, they determined; then, if even then, there should still be no possibility, the vow must lapse; they would then go on to Rome, and hold themselves at the order of the Pope. That resolve, adopted as an alternative, was, in the decrees of God, the sole resolve which mattered.

Even now, the untiring patience of Ignatius delayed the whole enterprise for three years. Some had still to finish their theological course; therefore January 25, 1537, was fixed for their assembling at Venice. A far trysting-day enough! So they determined to bind and confirm themselves by formal vow before the altar; and the fifteenth of August, the feast of the Assumption, was chosen

for the solemn rite. They followed the "Exercises," and on the appointed day (says Favre), "went to the chapel of Notre Dame, near Paris, and each made a vow to go at the time fixed to Jerusalem, and to place ourselves when we returned in the hands of the Pope ; and to leave, after a certain interval, our kinsfolk and our nets, and keep nothing but the money necessary for our journey."

That was the birthday of the Society of Jesus, or the Company of Jesus, as its Founder first called it. On the same day, during the next two years, the little band returned to the same church and solemnly renewed their vows. It was in the chapel of St. Denis, on the slope of Montmartre hill, that the historic event took place, the sequel of that Vigil of the Armour with which Ignatius began his career at Montserrat. The wheel had come full circle, and the solitary knight who then watched his arms now knelt at the head of his army, which under him was to go forth conquering and to conquer. In that hour, Rainolda of German Arnheim told her relation, James Canisius, that his son Peter should belong to a Society of Jesus, which should arise for the special behoof of their own Germany, and to the gain of the world. That Peterkin, as we all know, became Blessed Peter Canisius, S.J.

The new associates, coming forth from the chapel, sat them down by a spring on the western aspect of the height—a spring, like our white Winefride's Holywell, traditionally stained with the martyrs' blood—and there breaking their fast together, spent the residue of the blessed day in holy and fraternal chat of their immediate plans. The Sacraments,

attended with a frequency that shocked by its novelty the pious opinion of the day, weekly Communion, daily meditation and prayer—these were the simple means they adopted to maintain

CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DES CHAMPS, PARIS : TIME OF IGNATIUS

their common fervour unimpaired. Nay, there were two more : and will the proudly exclusive English Protestant credit it ?—one was his own patented privilege of Bible-reading ! These Spanish Papists had the audacity to make use of the Bible. The other was the reading of the "Imitation," the one book we know Ignatius specially valued besides the Bible.

Beyond these devices, they were to keep in touch by frequent meetings in each other's rooms,

even as Newman and his fellows kept in touch during the Oxford Movement. By these methods, faithfully carried out, they held together during their remaining years in Paris. The talents of such a band, fired by such common zeal, inevitably began to make them men of note—laymen of note—in the University ; and their sails were filled by the breath of official favour which now blew prosperously on their chief.

But this was a too comfortable good fortune, a too dangerous prosperity, and wholesome hostility soon witnessed to the vitality of their work. The attack came through the very conditions which they were specially combating. Already, in Paris, they had found and skirmished with the enemy whom it was their true task to fight. Not Moslems, not heathen of the East, were for them the enemy ; not Palestine the field of their warfare. Their battlefield was Europe, the enemy was close upon them : they had to take the front against the army of the Reformation over-running the North and West, the army of the Renascence triumphantly occupying Italy, and threatening even Rome.

Still blind to this duty, this destiny, the Company of Jesus at its very outset was, nevertheless, involved in the fated conflict. In Paris the outposts and far-flung skirmishers of the Reformation came in touch with the nascent army, lessoning it for its future battle. Under Francis I. the Reformers were beginning what under Henry III. should rend France in twain as the Huguenot movement. To the eyes of gay Francis, who cared for none of these things, save when they meant trouble for himself or his throne, it was at present purely academic. He was a patron of art, letters,

the Renascence, and troubled not himself about the opinions of the artists or scholars who flocked to his Court. Greek and Hebrew were at low tide in France, at high tide in Germany ; he imported professors from Germany, and with Greek and Hebrew imported the Reformation. If your orthodox professor be ill at his trade, and your unorthodox professor a skilled craftsman, shall the excellence of the former's theological principles compensate for the villainy of his Greek particles? He professes, not religion, but Greek. It was precisely to remedy this state of things (among other matters) that the Jesuit Society arose. The very ensign of the Society (so to speak) was flown in Ignatius's determination that to be a Saint did not dispense him from being a scholar. Nor were the German professors all. Calvin had studied at Paris, preceding the very footsteps of Ignatius, from the Collège Montaigu to the Collège Ste. Barbe : the great Jesuit had trodden the tracks of the great heresiarch. Now Calvin himself followed the professors to Paris, and revisited his old college. Ignatius and Calvin brushed elbows. Rabelais was in Paris, a terrible Renascence force. There, too, was Servetus, shortly to become the adherent of Calvin. The Reformation spread : Marguerite and Renée, sisters of Francis, gave royal patronage to Protestants. Calvin gained the Rector of the University, Kopp. There was an uproar : Calvin fled from Paris to Marguerite of Navarre ; Kopp hid, and then also fled. But the new opinions continued to spread. Ignatius, with his followers, was active in encountering them, and gathering back to the Church the seceders, or heartening the waverers. He laboured so fervidly, fasted and did

penance with such disregard of the lesson taught by his Manresan extremes in austerity, that his health once more broke down; again constant pain crippled alike study and prayer. He was, indeed, about to revisit Spain, to fulfil the order of the doctors, and to settle family affairs for some of his disciples, who dreaded the remonstrances and opposition of those at home, should they themselves go thither.

But he was prevented. The assailers of heresy were accused of heresy. The Saint was founding a new sect. The "Exercises"—who could say what heresy this new and unknown book (and by a layman) might contain? An information was laid before the Inquisitor, at this time one Laurent. Ignatius at once met the charge by demanding an inquiry. Laurent behaved with the greatest courtesy. He did not credit the accusation; he said, nevertheless, that it would be well if the "Exercises" were submitted to him. Ignatius complied; and, far from condemning the book, Laurent was so impressed that he begged a copy for himself.

"Let me, then, have an attestation of my innocence," said the Saint.

"Not necessary," rejoined the Inquisitor.

But Ignatius persisted, seeing the value of an official absolution. With a notary and certain doctors of the University as witnesses, he went before Laurent, and extorted the formal attestation. It was necessary, for Lutheranism was making head in all directions; the Lutheran sovereigns of Germany were intermittently in revolt against Charles V.; the Turks were menacing Europe and ravaging the Italian coast; Pope Clement VII., in

this year 1534, died of grief, anxiety, and enfeebled age. Every new teacher was inevitably suspect to the Church; and, knowing the number and activity of his enemies, Ignatius could not prudently neglect any precaution. Then, having obtained this attestation, and successfully countered this last attempt against the infant Society, he was free to resume his journey into Spain.

CHAPTER V

AT the end of March 1535, Ignatius left his associates to the direction of Peter Favre, and took horse Spainwards. This unusual indulgence was due to the weakness caused by his austerities. Convinced though he had been of his unwisdom in that extreme Manresan asceticism, his impetuous and sanguine spirit could not resist fresh excess of penitential ardour when his health seemed re-established.

It was but a flying visit. How much had happened since the Inquisition drove him forth from the Peninsula! Don Martin, his brother, with two younger brothers and two nephews (of whom one, Antonio de Araoz, afterwards joined the Society, while the other, Millan de Loyola, also joined but died prematurely) awaited him at Loyola Castle. Though they sent an escort to meet him, and did their best to engage his residence with them, they failed. He went on to Azpeitia; and only one night during his sojourn there was spent under the ancestral roof. That was when his brother's wife, Doña Magdalena, besought him by the Passion of Our Lord. Yet he was not without natural solicitations. In after days he confessed to a youthful novice that a picture of the Virgin in his prayer-book used to perturb him: in the tender face he saw a likeness to Doña Magdelena, and his heart went out towards Loyola. "Childishness!" said the unbending Saint; and he pasted paper over the picture. With the picture vanished the temptation. Was it indeed "temptation," one asks? It is a hard matter to be sister-in-law to a Saint!

His foot was scarce set in Azpeitia before he began to preach. Nor only to preach. The journey had improved his health ; and at once the unrestrainable man renewed his austerities. He was resolute in forbidding to his disciples such trials of their constitutions ; but his precept was certainly better than his example. Perhaps he had grounds for avoiding his brother's house ; since even in Azpeitia Don Martin at once opposed his preaching. There would be no hearers, said Martin. Let there be but one, answered Ignatius, and it would be enough. But folk flocked to hear him, till he was driven from the town ; and then in the country men swarmed up the trees to listen to these unpremeditated simplicities of a wanderer's fervid speech. One detail during these discourses brings to mind a Saint of very different character. Yet in this detail Augustine and Ignatius join hands across the centuries : we recall Augustine's boyish orchard-robbing, and the sternness with which he regarded it after his conversion. Among the reasons which had drawn him back to Spain, said Ignatius, was unceasing remorse for the scandal given by his early years. Daily he asked God's pardon ; now he asked theirs. Nay, justice to a guiltless man compelled him home. Listening to him stood a man who had suffered fine and prison for orchard-robbery done by Ignatius and his boy-comrades. The Saint proclaimed his own guilt and his victim's innocence, and made over to the man his two farms, as public reparation.

He attacked the dissolute life of the clergy ; he attacked sumptuary ostentation in the laity of either sex, and he attacked indelicate female dress. As in Savonarola's Florence, impressible women burst

into tearful penitence, cast away their ornaments and reformed their attire. Dissolute women performed works of piety, and strove to convert their companions. Best of all, he founded an association for private relief of the shy poor, ashamed to proclaim their poverty, endowing it from his own possessions, with administrators selected from the chief people of the place : a similar association yet exists in Italy. He attacked gambling, a southern passion then as now. Your Spaniard would pray for success at the gaming-table, and render pious thanks for his winnings. The astonishing divorce of religion from morality—nay, alliance of religion with immorality—so unthinkable to the northern mind, has always been and still is a quite natural thing to the child-like southern temper. It feels, not reasons ; and is capable of amazing self-deception. Calderon portrays his Bohemian women praying the Madonna for good luck in their rogueries. But for three years cards and dice fled from Azpeitia, at the bidding of Ignatius, as did snakes from Ireland at the bidding of Patrick. Less docile than the snakes, dice and cards were not long in finding their way back. One picturesque custom is recorded to his initiative ; and for this, also, he provided money. Each noon the bells rang ; and at sound of the bell folk prayed for such as were living in deadly sin. At even, too, prayers were said for the souls of the Dead ; but this custom he did not originate, he only revived. The Confraternity of the Most Holy Body of Our Lord, yet surviving at Azpeitia, Ignatius founded some five years later by means of a letter from Rome.

Beyond these matters, many wonders are recorded

of him during this Azpeitian stay. But we confine ourselves to the plain things, showing that Ignatius, like Savonarola or Francis of Assisi, was a practical preacher, dealing with the homely

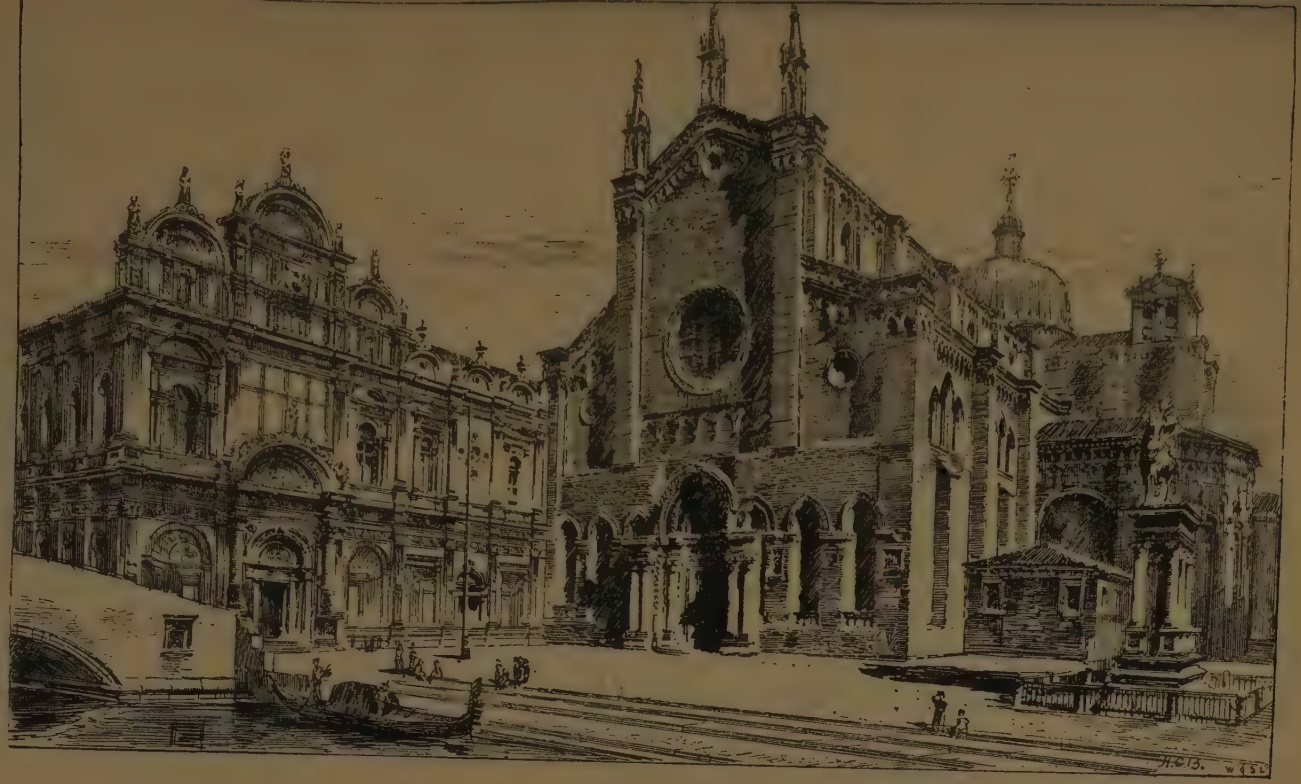
DOORWAY OF VALENCIA CATHEDRAL

matters of the daily life of his hearers. His manner was no less simple and immediate; trusting, like Wesley and all successful evangelists, to the force of his personal sincerity. Let not the comparison surprise, for the human qualities which go to effectual popular appeal are one within the Fold and without.

Three months Ignatius gave to his native place;

then he must be about the larger business which had brought him to Spain. His health was again restored, despite work which might have exhausted a sound man. With brother Martin he rode to the Biscayan border; there parted from him, and resumed his favourite habit of going afoot after its compulsory disuse. One by one he visited the homes of his young followers—at Navarrese Obaños, at Almazan, at Segovia, at Toledo. Everywhere the families of the youths were slow to permit the required renunciation of property; everywhere he none the less gained his end. The nine-year-old Philip II. saw the traveller, whom the nurse bade her royal charge note and ask his prayers. "That," said she, "is a Saint." Which shows that the prophet, all humble as he was, no longer lacked honour in his own country. At Segorbe, that Juan de Castro who had once designed to be his disciple encouraged him to proceed, declaring that his design was of God. Juan was then a Carthusian novice in Holy Orders—another link between Ignatius and the Order of his special affection. He had journeyed aside from Valencia to consult Juan, and to Valencia he returned, embarking thence for Genoa. His Spanish interlude was played, and he was for Italy, the foreordained land of his life-work. Little he guessed it. Jerusalem was still his purposed goal, as when he took ship for Italy so many years ago, after Manresa; and he had no idea but what this visit was to be a modified repetition of the last, when his little army should have joined its General, and they should have gained their permit from the Pope.

As usual, there was a dangerous storm, through



CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE, ADJOINING THE HOSPITAL WHERE THE COMPANIONS OF IGNATIUS STAYED

which they won to Genoa. No less according to custom, over the Apennines to Bologna were fresh troubles. Lost, on the verge of a precipice, with a torrent below, he clambered on hands and knees, clinging to juts and the grass of the clefts; and, scarce coming through with life, came ill into Bologna. Then he slipped over a bridge into a moat as he entered the town; none gave alms to to the dripping, slimy, battered figure; nay, the urchins screeched after it; but the Spanish College sheltered him and tended him back to strength. Venice he re-entered at the close of 1535, and there he resumed his theological studies, and, of course, evangelised. The City of the Sea soon gave him three more recruits for his company—Diego and Esteban d'Eguia and Diego Hozes: again, one notes, Spaniards, though recruited in Italy. The Eguias were newly returned from Ignatius's beloved Palestine; and, in after years, when Diego was his confessor, Ignatius used to say: "In Heaven we shall see Padre Diego fifty yards above us, so that we shall scarce know him." Among the Saint's many Venetian conquests was Pietro Contarini, bishop to be, but more noteworthy because of his cousinship with Cardinal Contarini, whose friendliness was to profit Ignatius later in Rome.

It is plain enough that the Saint looked on his potent instrument, the "Exercises," less as a thing of his fashioning than a gift of God. The absoluteness of his belief in it is strongly shown by a letter from Venice to Miona, his confessor in Paris:

"I do not know any way of repaying a tittle of what you have done, except to put you during a

month in the 'Spiritual Exercises.' . . . I pray you twice, thrice, and as often as I can, for the glory of God our Lord, to do what I have said, so that the Divine Majesty may not reprove me later for not having conjured you with all my might to do the best thing that I can think, feel, and understand on earth, not only for the separate good of each, but also to learn how to conduct many others in the way of piety—how to help and guide them. So that if you feel not the want yourself, you will see how much you can profit others beyond all degree more than you expect."

There is here no thought of "my" "Exercises": they are just the best thing he can conceive on earth for their purpose, and he says so in all simplicity.

But now it was grown time that his disciples should come to his assistance. From Paris, then, they started in the winter of 1536; and a toilsome march they had of it. At Meaux the rearguard joined them (for they had left Paris in two bodies); and Rodriguez presently had to repel the pursuit of his brother, who came up with him by the way and would have had him back to Paris. Rodriguez and Simon fell ill; and Xavier, in turn, broke down. Successful of old in students' races, to penance himself for vanity in his speed of foot he had girt about his legs with cords, with the result that the swollen flesh closed over the bands. Recovery did not end their agitations. More than once they came upon the French armies, moving against the Imperial troops, and from their Spanish tongue were in peril. The first time they were delivered by a peasant, who bade the soldiers let

them go: "See you not they go to reform some country or other?" A speech which witnesses the ubiquity of "reformers" in Europe of that day. It is strange to think on these lay Free Lances of Christ marching through the lances of the world's rulers, their nature and world-wide importance all unsuspected. Their marching-order was of the simplest. Staff in hand, rosary round neck, Bible, breviary, and papers slung from shoulder in a wallet, they trudged two and two, singing psalms, or talking of holy things. But, unlike the soldiers of the world, the weakest went ahead, and set the pace of the little column. So, gay and singing, went the first Franciscans when they invaded England. In the Protestant countries, the Ignatians had to dispute with the ministers, while abuse and, on occasion, even actual danger were their portion. At Basle, the Cathedral was a rope-walk; at an inn near Constance, the minister began by dispute, and ended high in German oath; so that some bystanders warned them in Latin of imminent imprisonment. Betimes in the morning a stranger entered the inn, and led them across the snow to the high road. Being young, tall, and "of a fair countenance," pious believers were not wanting to think him an angel. At another place a woman brought out to them from the hospital fragments of sacred images shattered by the Reformers, which they kissed, kneeling in the snow.

At last, on January 6, 1537, the little army kept tryst with its General at Venice, and the Saint wept over his faithful soldiers. They took up their residence at two of the hospitals (the Incurables and SS. John and Paul), where they tended the

sick and taught, so that the nobles of the city were attracted to watch their charity. Xavier, at the Incurables, sucked the wounds of the patients, for that was believed by the doctors to be a remedy. Not till Mid-Lent did they start for Rome, and then without Ignatius. Ortiz, his old enemy of Paris, was there; and Cardinal Caraffa, who was thought to be scarce more favourable to him, since he had refused to join the Theatines of whom the Cardinal was patron. Ortiz was in Rome as Imperial Envoy in the matter of English Henry's divorce from Queen Catharine. So the companions set forth to reach Rome in Holy Week. It was another trying journey. The rains had flooded the land, so that they sometimes had to wade breast-high; and they were so destitute that in passing the pine-wood of Ravenna—Dante's wood, and Shelley's—they fed on the pine-cones. Poor Rodriguez seemed fated to a certain kind of adventure. On the way from Paris he had fallen on a throng of dancers in the evening rays. Some girls ran out from the circle and coaxed Simon to join them, with such importunity that he fairly fled, crying, "Thieves, thieves!" Now, knocking at a door, he was civilly asked upstairs, where three women were waiting him, of no good repute. Down he sped again: but at once began to address the by-passers under the window of the room whence he had escaped. The women listened in amused curiosity; but his sermon so arrested them that they were converted on the spot, and under his guidance began a better life. Part of the band had to take boat to Ancona, so deep were the floods. They had not a penny among them; and the boatman kept them prisoners in his boat while one

landed, under oath to return and free his friends when he should have begged the money. He had to pawn his breviary for their release, and then to

beg in order to release the imprisoned breviary. Coming to Tolentino at nightfall, in pouring rain, a stranger met them, silently placed money in the hand of the drenched Ignatian who was toiling along the middle of the road, and went his way. They proceeded joyously to an inn, and supped off bread, figs, and wine. But this gorgeous banquet

they would not begin till they had sought out some beggars and invited them to share it. Truly, this was in the spirit of the early Franciscans.

Paul III. was the Pope who awaited, all-unconscious, the arrival of this new soldiery in Rome. From the outset of his Pontificate he had devoted himself to the sore-needed work of reform, and gathered about him a band of cardinals zealous in the same cause. Contarini was among the chief of these: Contarini who, when it was cried that his attacks involved bygone Popes, replied: "Shall we care for the fame of three or four Popes, and not mend what is corrupt, and earn a worthy reputation for ourselves?" The Pope, at the same time, was so mild in his measures against heretics, that fiery partisans in no long time accused his instruments of being themselves heretics; and Contarini echoed his wise moderation.

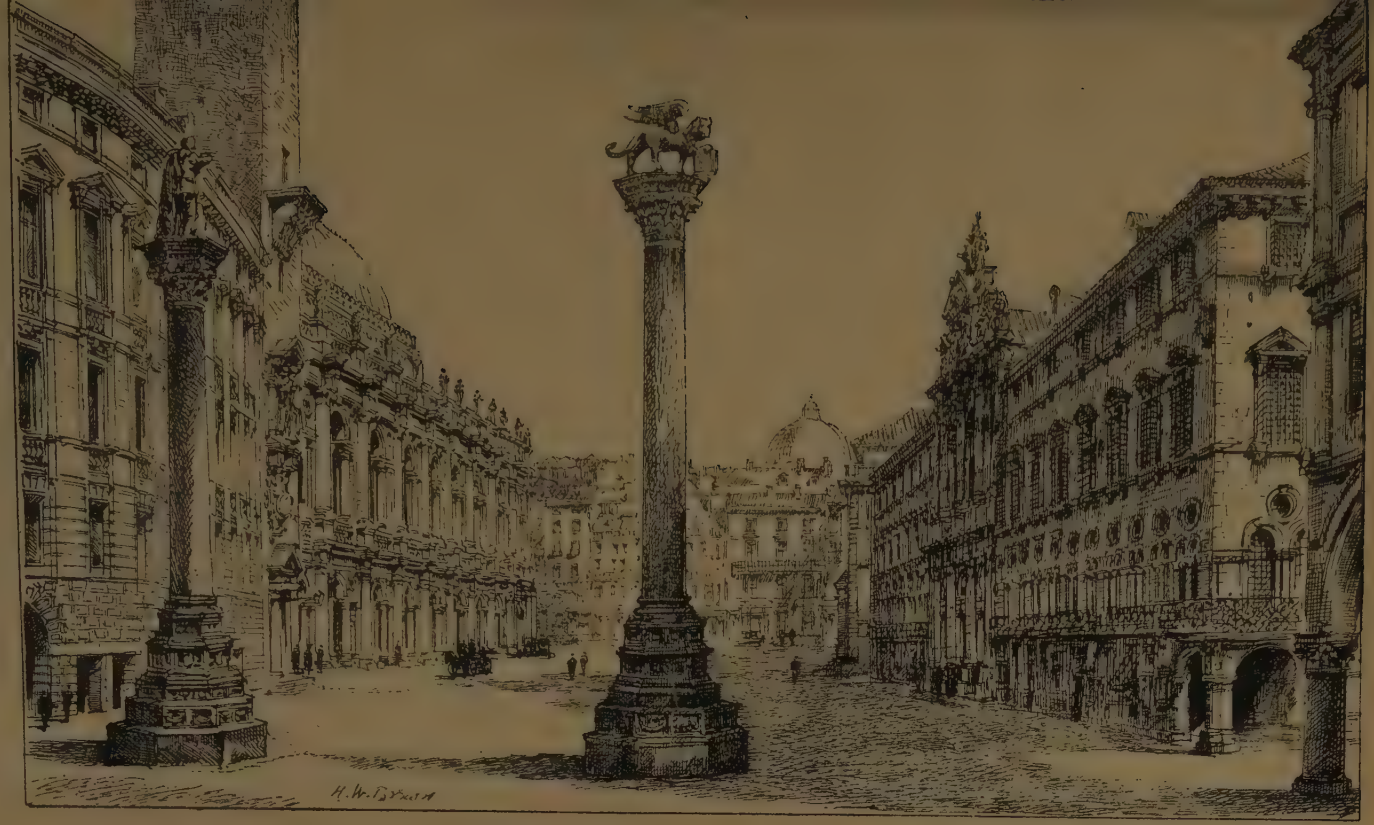
The new-comers were ultimately received in the Hospital of St. James of the Spaniards; and of all men, Ortiz, their dreaded enemy, was the first to present them to the Pope. Theologians, including bishops, cardinals, and Ortiz himself, engaged them in disputation, the Pope setting the themes; and Paul declared himself rejoiced to see such learning joined with such humility. He offered them assistance in all they might desire; and when they replied that they wished only his blessing and leave to depart for the Holy Land, he gave it them willingly. "But," he said, "I do not think you will go." He had the best of reasons for the saying. A league had been concluded among Charles V., the Venetians, and himself against the Turks, which he knew would make the seas impassable for pilgrims. The darling project of Ignatius

was already foredoomed. Afterwards they sought and gained another request. All who were not priests were permitted to receive ordination from any bishop, while Salmeron, being under age, by special dispensation was allowed to be ordained so soon

CHURCH OF ST. JAMES OF THE STANIARDS, PIAZZA NAVONA, ROME, TO WHICH THE HOSPITAL WAS ATTACHED

as he should be twenty-three. Further, the Pope sent fifty crowns for their journey to the Levant.

Thus successful, they rejoined Ignatius in Venice. They renewed their vows of poverty and chastity in the hands of Monsignor Veralli ; and Ignatius with six of his disciples proceeded to the Holy Orders which they had not received. On the tenth and seventeenth of June they received the subdiaconate and diaconate : on the Feast of St. John Baptist



(the twenty-fourth) they received the priesthood from the Bishop of Arba, Vincenzio Nigusanti.

The war with the Turks was now in full progress, and the seas impassable. It was settled, therefore, to wait a year, and if their design was still impossible, to abandon it and devote themselves to the salvation of souls where they found themselves. Meanwhile they were to separate, to seek retirement and preach the faith in various parts of the Venetian States. Ignatius, Favre, and Lainez went to Vicenza; Xavier and Salmeron to Monselice; Rodriguez and Le Jay to Bassano; Bobadilla and Broët to Verona; Codure and Hozes to Treviso. The embers of the new fire were scattered over Venetia to kindle the land. For rule, they adopted the simple expedient that each should be Superior during one week. Simon Rodriguez seemed peculiarly exposed to mishap in these early days of the infant Company, as we have seen; and this separation had nigh parted him from the Order. He and Le Jay had been received by a saintly hermit, Antonio, in his hermitage of San Vito, near Bassano, where they slept luxuriously on a table, who were used to sleep on the ground. There Simon fell ill, and was given over by the doctor. Ignatius, suffering from low fever, set out to visit him. As he stopped on the road to pray, Favre (who went with him) saw his face lit up, as usual when his prayers were specially blessed. "Rodriguez will not die," said he; and coming in to Rodriguez and embracing him, "Take heart," he bade him, "Brother Simon, for you will not die yet." Rodriguez forthwith began to mend. But Antonio had not much opinion of the Saint. Here was a man in clerical dress mixing freely with the

world. There was too much individualism about the life for the hermit's notions, and only after Ignatius had gone was it plain to him in prayer that he had slighted a Saint, showing, said he penitently, how little you can guess the sap of a tree from its bark. Meanwhile the gentle and contemplative Simon returned with the others to Bassano, regretted his hermit's cell, fell melancholy, and at last fled secretly towards San Vito again. But, on the way, to him as to Balaam appeared one with a drawn sword who stood over against him. He stood, then essayed to advance. But the man came on towards him, so that Rodriguez turned and fled back, to the amazement of those who saw him. But on his return Ignatius met him, and smiling, with arms outstretched, "O thou of little faith," he said, "why didst thou doubt?"

The years drew to a close with the seas still shut against them, and they now resumed preaching. Things had so far declined from the days of St. Francis of Assisi that this had for the people all the attraction of novelty. Not only was preaching neglected, indeed, but the churches were wellnigh deserted: the effects of Humanism and the Reformation were everywhere. The time was ripe for the new preachers. Their method was to go out together, each into a different piazza, mount a bench, and then wave their caps to attract the attention of passers. Long was it since these had seen men in secular priests' attire thus familiarly speaking to them of God in the public ways. They looked with idle wonder on these meanly dressed fellows, stammering bad Italian.

But soon the preachers' ardour had its effect: and conversions came numerously. Therewith

came also the old trouble These men who prated in open street, an unheard-of thing ! who or what were they ? Heretics, doubtless, of whom there were such numbers swarming over Europe. Soon it was reported that Ignatius had escaped from France and Spain because he was "wanted" by the Inquisition of both countries. The Nuncio Veralli examined into the charge, and was satisfied of its falsity : but the Saint, after his custom, insisted on a formal attestation of orthodoxy, and obtained it in October 1537. He now assembled his disciples in the ruined convent at Vicenza where he resided, and those lately ordained said their first Mass. There were two exceptions : Rodriguez and Ignatius himself. The Saint, in his humble diffidence, postponed this repeatedly, and did not actually say his first Mass till the Christmas Day of 1538 in the Chapel of the Nativity in Santa Maria. Rodriguez said his also the next year at Ferrara. Meanwhile Xavier in his turn followed Rodriguez's example (as he had followed it *en route* from Paris) and fell ill. Winter, draughty lodgings, labour, and austerities were a sufficient cause. As he lay, now tossing with fever, now trembling with accesses of cold, St. Jerome appeared to him (a Saint of his peculiar predilection), comforting and strengthening him, and foretelling that in Bologna, whither he would be sent, he would receive a cross, to his spiritual gain.

CHAPTER VI

THE Bologna mission awaited him immediately on his recovery. Disappointed in the Palestinian project, Ignatius resolved on proceeding to Rome, according to their previous decision in such event. He took with him only Favre and Lainez. The seven others were again to disperse, this time into university cities, where they would have a field of labour among the students: Salmeron and Broët to Siena, Codure and Hozes to Padua, Rodriguez and Le Jay to Ferrara, Xavier and Bobadilla to Bologna, as Xavier had been warned.

And now for the first time we become entitled to speak of the Companions as Jesuits; for hitherto the infant Order had been nameless. They asked rules before their separation, and were assigned virtually the same elementary rules as before: each to be Superior for a week, preaching in the squares, or whereso they might be suffered; their discourse to be impromptu, without thought of eloquence; instruction of children in doctrine and morals, watchful charity, and no money to be taken for any service, which should in all things and all ways be rendered for the love of God. Such, in sum, were their rules; after which they asked what they should answer, being demanded their rule and name. Then was it that the Saint, speaking with decision and authority, as one who had long been resolved on this point, bade them reply that they were of the Company of Jesus: as we should now say, the Brigade or Corps of Jesus. Since the day of the Free Companies which ravaged France

under the Black Prince, and desolated Italy under the banners of mercenary captains, the word "Company" had been a familiar military phrase, well known to ex-Captain Iñigo de Loyola. Now he had a company of his own, ready to go and to fight anywhere at the bidding of the Ruler of the Church. Throughout Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in the New World just dawning upon the Old, its banners were to fly ; in Paraguay it was to conquer and rule a peaceful kingdom until the advent of the destroyer ; its captains were to influence the councils of princes, its soldiers to conquer democracies. What of this did Ignatius dream ? He foresaw, perhaps, but battle ; he asked for it but the legacy of hate.

The brethren parted, therefore, each to his own assigned mission, of which the most difficult, perhaps, was Le Jay's. He had to deal at Ferrara with a Court infected by the Reformed teaching. The brilliant and beautiful Renée d'Este was the admirer of Calvin, whose flight she had aided from the city : her husband's orthodoxy was of doubtful strength, and his nature brutal, as his Duchess too soon experienced ; and Le Jay's chief support was the illustrious Vittoria Colonna. But the fortune of the Society went Romeward with its great head. To him as to Peter, though in other fashion, came a vision on the road to the City of the Seven Hills. At little La Storta, six miles from Rome, as he prayed in a wayside chapel, he told his comrade Lainez that he saw Christ with the Cross on His shoulder, and by Him the Father, Who said :

"I will You to take this man for Your servant."

Christ, accepting Ignatius, said :

"I will have you to serve Me," and, looking on him graciously, declared, "I will be propitious to you in Rome."

The Father gave him to Christ as a portion, said Ignatius; but the meaning of Christ's promise he did not then well understand, surmising that perhaps they would be martyred in Rome—a most characteristic interpretation, which shows how far he was from conceiving the great destinies awaiting him in the papal city. Dreaming, like Teresa, of "the Moors and martyrdom," he would, perchance, have been half disappointed had he divined the splendid truth. Lainez took off his shoes at the gates, and entered barefoot on the soil steeped in the blood of martyrs. It was November when they arrived; and, after at first begging alms, were installed as before by wealthy Spaniards in the Hospital of St. James of the Spaniards.

With the coming of Ignatius to Rome begins his wider history. With a quickness almost startling, he is transformed from the obscure and struggling student, the scarce less obscure lay missionary, into the influential head of an astonishingly successful Order. It was inevitable. A man who can command the implicit devotion of nine remarkable men is already an unrecognised power, and needs only official approbation to become a recognised power.

That approbation was ready for him in Rome. Not in vain had Christ said, "I will be propitious to you in Rome." Paul III., true to the promises he had made to the Saint's emissaries, received him with all favour, and accepted readily the offered service of Ignatius and his followers. It could scarce be otherwise. Never had Church and

Papacy, battling with enemies on all sides, and struggling under the task of self-reformation, with the obstinate resistance it provoked from those of their own household, greater need for a devoted and powerful instrument. It seems incredible that in such a time Ignatius had ever been for throwing this elect energy on a foreign and distant shore. Paul III., at any rate, discerned the value of the tool placed in his hand. Not only did he accept the general offer of the new-comers' service, but he forthwith set himself to find immediate employment for those actually at hand; appointing Favre and Lainez to lecture at the University of the Sapienza, the one on Scripture, the other on Scholastic Theology. Ignatius meanwhile addressed himself to his favourite task, the apostolate of the people. With his usual scrupulous conscientiousness, he had promptly returned the money sent him by the Pope for the Levantine journey. Nor was such scrupulosity needless. For the favour of those in high places now began to flow towards the young Society, and calumny quickly adapted itself to these changed conditions. The Imperial Ambassador, the Marquis de Aguilar, on whom the three Jesuits called, warned them of the new attack. It was said, he told them, that they were ambitious hypocrites. They baited their hook with humility, but they angled for mitres and red hats. Ignatius crossed himself. Then he indignantly spoke out, and vowed never to accept, either for himself or any of the Society, honours or dignities, save under obedience to the Pope's command. This vow was subsequently renewed before Cardinal Carpi, Protector of the Order.

Cardinal Contarini fully shared the Pope's

PALACE AND BASILICA OF

benevolence towards the new Society, and at once manifested his friendship for the Saint. He used his influence to confirm the altered sentiments of Ortiz towards Ignatius; with such effect that the Saint's former persecutor presently sought his direction, and went through the "Exercises" with him. The frequency of these striking changes from violent enmity to admiring reverence in those who came in contact with Ignatius is one of the many proofs that the worst trials of extraordinary sanctity come not from the evil-minded, but from excellent men of short-sighted or conservative character. Sanctity, like genius—and genius it is—frightens the large and well-meaning class which clings to trodden ways, and instinctively dreads the unhabitual in any form, because it disturbs comfortable automatism, and enforces the effort of a readjusted focus. But these very people, if they can once be got to make the effort, and effect the readjustment, may become the stoutest upholders of that which they once cried down. Thus it was with Ortiz, henceforward the firm supporter of the Jesuit Order. We are grateful to him for this retreat under the Saint's direction, were it only for the sidelight it throws on an aspect of Ignatius we might otherwise never have known. We like to learn that the Saint of Assisi once frankly and enjoyingly laughed—a most kind and innocent laughter—at the simplicity of a good lay-brother. And even so we value an answering little anecdote of Ignatius, in its place, as much as the records of his visions and sublimities. It helps us to keep touch with his humanity, which is in danger of obscuration by the dazzling aureole of his sanctity. A kindly featured face emerges from that circle of

THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF MONTE CASSINO

luminous whiteness. Ortiz, it is said, gave way under the strain of those recluse meditations in the abbey of Monte Cassino; his head became affected. Then the lofty and ascetic Saint forgot to forget his own gay and cavalier youth; he danced before Ortiz; he danced as another David; he danced the old Basque national dance. Ortiz was roused and brightened—the two, one may well think, laughed heartily together; and lo and behold! the "Exercises" were carried successfully to an end. There is a charming southern atmosphere about the tale. An English Saint would doubtless have had the wisdom to enliven his drooping disciple under like circumstances; he might perhaps have sung, if an English Saint chanced to be capable of singing; but perhaps no Englishman, no man of the North, could so far have forgotten his constitutional gravity as to dance. Ortiz, after this, was for becoming a Jesuit; but Ignatius, with his customary prudence, dissuaded him from a change so total at an age already advanced.

At Monte Cassino Ignatius learned that there was indeed room for a new disciple; for one of the little army had already gone to meet "his Captain, Jesus Christ." Hozes was dead. And, strangely and providentially, coming back Ignatius encountered the man who was to fill the gap in his ranks —Francesco Strada. Strada, of whom he had formerly some knowledge in Spain, had since been in the household of Cardinal Caraffa; but, the Cardinal having disbanded his retinue, Strada was setting out to seek military service in Naples. He met Ignatius, and under the great persuasion of that personality was soon enlisted in an army other than he had dreamed. With his new General he

went back, a Jesuit. This new recruit was a born preacher, one of those who move by sight as much as by hearing. He, too, was to make his mark in the Order.

Meantime the other members of the Society were busy, each at his post. Of Le Jay at Ferrara something we have said. He had to do with a Court in which the Duke, brutal and feeble, detested his French Duchess, Renée, but was orthodox after his not over-zealous fashion. The Duchess, celebrated by the verses in which the Huguenot poet, Clement Marot, has sung of her excellence and the sorrows heaped on her by her husband, was attached to the Reform party, admired and patronised Calvin, and loved her own countrymen—itself a grievance to the husband who hated her. Le Jay, being French, might have hoped to gain some influence with her. But in this he was disappointed: she held aloof from him throughout his stay of two years. In Vittoria Colonna he found his supporter: she not only took him for her Director, but introduced him to the Duke and prevailed on that unamiable personage to do likewise. He would even have made Le Jay tutor to his son, but Ignatius refused consent to an appointment which carried with it life at Court. It was a Court, moreover, rent by the factions which adhered to Duke or Duchess, Catholic or Reformed Religion.

At Padua, Codure and Hozes began by an experience of prison, after the fashion so familiar to their Founder in Spain. As of old, the ecclesiastical authorities, astonished at so great a novelty as zeal, suspected false teaching or other hidden mischief; and acting on the maxim "imprison first and

inquire afterwards," laid them by the heels. They spent the night in rejoicing over this good beginning to their work, singing psalms and hymns; but, next day, testimony was quick in their favour, and they were freed to preach as they would. No long time elapsed when Hozes, preaching in the great square from the text, "Watch and pray, for ye know neither the day nor the hour," at the end of his sermon was seized with fever, and thereafter died in the hospital. Ignatius, at Monte Cassino, was told of his illness, and related that, praying for him, he saw his spirit borne into Heaven by angels amidst a glory of light. On a later day, at the words in the *Confiteor* of the Mass, "*omnibus sanctis*," the heavens opened to him and he beheld Hozes with a luminous splendour about him—a vision many days repeated. The actual face, indeed, of the dead man was so beautiful to the comrades at Padua who looked on it, that Codure wept for happiness.

Rodriguez now joined Codure, from Ferrara—none too soon. For Codure also fell ill, and was received into the house of a rich priest whom he had reformed. Meanwhile Xavier, at Bologna, had also been taken into the house of a noble ecclesiastic, Don Girolamo Casalini, Canon of San Petronio, at the instance of his niece, who had visited Xavier and been struck by his inspiration. There, for several months, he was visited with a quartan fever, in which he recognised the cross foretold by St. Jerome. He remitted on this account no jot of his assiduity in preaching and labouring for souls. His success and the affection in which he was held by the people already foreshadowed the brilliant apostolate of the Indies. A man of few

words, said Casalini, but those few told; and he had that rare gift of Christian sweetness which, wherever found, fascinates the heart.

But before the Easter of 1538 Ignatius closed up his scattered Society like a fan. He called the members to Rome, and coming out of the cities wherein they had trodden the wine-press of the Lord, they found their earthly leader appropriately lodged in a vineyard at the foot of the Pincian Mount. There he had a little house, lent to him by a relative of Cardinal de Cupis, one Quirino Garzonio. This was not for long. With the arrival of the brethren a larger house became a need; and they found it at the Torre del Melangolo in the Piazza Margana, where it still is. It was the gift of a wealthy member of the Papal household, a favourite of the Pope, by name Codacio. Codacio not only gave the abode, but was the first Roman to join the Society. He was made, by Ignatius, Minister of the house he had bestowed, and gained the chief's trust so completely that it was said Ignatius never refused him a request.

The Society now entered upon the apostolate of Rome. They preached in the churches and were soon surrounded by crowds. The wholesome emulation of the clergy was aroused: they cast off their carelessness, where their carelessness had not become too deeply ingrained. A widespread revival of religion was the result. Sunday sermons, which had fallen into disuse, became the rule. Yet many persons at the present day must reckon it not least among Ignatius's tokens of sanctity that he detested long sermons. Not because he did not preach. On the contrary, in that brilliant band which included such trained, eloquent, and

TORRE DEL MELANGOLO, THE ROMAN HOUSE OF IGNATIUS AND HIS COMPANIONS

erudite preachers as Salmeron, Lainez, and Bobadilla, who were discoursing in holy rivalry with him, he was unique in his power over listeners. His old persecutor, Ortiz, declared that he never missed the Saint's sermons at Santa Maria di Monserrato, and the *élite* of Rome shared Ortiz's enthusiasm. This is the more remarkable, because, while the Saint's companions all preached in the language of the country (some of them, indeed, not too fluently), Ignatius preached only in Spanish. At the same time the Jesuits heard confessions, and instructed children in the churches; while Favre and Lainez continued their lectures at the Sapienza; a striking record of activity. At the close of day, when they met after their work to return thanks, they would sometimes forget to beg alms (their means of livelihood) for joy of the fruit given to their labours.

Though the new preachers thought it improper (as Ignatius says) to use graces or elegances of style, the graces and elegances were seemingly not missed; and the jealous onlooker—be sure he was there—needed, therefore, some outer influence to check these much too successful men. Accordingly an attack, the most deadly Ignatius had yet sustained, was engineered with all due dexterity. The clumsy proceedings of Spain and Paris might be good enough for an unknown and almost solitary lay-teacher; for the head of a new Society, the favoured of Pope and other high authorities, the most venomed and finely tempered weapons of slander were required. Already Ignatius had heard from Aguilar concerning accusations of hypocrisy. But the hour was not then ripe. Now the Pope left Rome to confer with Francis I. and Charles V.

at Nice upon a crusade against the Turk. The new preachers were deprived of their most powerful patron; Rome was left in the hands of subordinates. Here was the hour and the chance. The man was speedily forthcoming. The charges of heresy and hypocrisy were suddenly set afoot again with a plausible cunning not yet attempted. The storm burst. And for a time the Company seemed about to be swept away.

The reader remembers Miguel Navarro, he of the midnight poignard and repentance in Paris? This was the chief tool. He had been admitted and lost to the Company; had sought readmittance at Venice, had been refused; and was now ready as head calumniator. The prime mover was a very different and much more dangerous man, without whom the tools would have been of small effect. This was a minor Luther; like Luther, an Augustinian friar; but, unlike Luther, a Piedmontese, with the Italian *finesse* rather than the German aggressiveness. Appearing in Rome during the Pope's absence, he began to preach with an appearance of great devotion and simplicity, eschewing all controversial matter. His gifts soon gained him large audience; and then he began cautiously and gradually to glide in the characteristic Lutheran teachings. But already the new Society was preparing for its future function. He dashed up against that rock upon which so many heresies were to splinter. Lainez and Salmeron, who heard and, as it were, overheard him, began by calling on him, and endeavouring privately to move him from his offences. The Augustinian, Fra Agostino by name, reviled them as ignorant men, and declared that if they pur-

BASILICA OF ST. MARY MAJOR, ROME: TIME OF IGNATIUS

sued their malice against him he would have all Rome on his side. The Jesuits then began to deal with his doctrines from the pulpit, without direct attack on him. Such was the preliminary skirmishing : the battle was to come.

For it was not long before Fra Agostino resolved to crush his critics once for all. He carried the war into their own country. From the pulpit he declared Ignatius a heretic and hypocrite, a wolf in shepherd's clothing, one who in holy guise had spread the mischief of his doctrines through the Universities of Europe. Salamanca, Paris, Venice had convicted him of heresy, and in all these places he had but escaped death by flight. Here, in Rome, were men of his own country who had discovered his character after at first being seduced by him, and abandoned him in horror. One such there was to whom the Friar especially pointed, who was ready to witness concerning what he knew of Ignatius's iniquities ; and Agostino called on Rome to show itself not less discerning than Paris and these other cities which had cast the hypocrite out.

The witness, of course, was Miguel Navarro ; and his fellows in righteousness were Pedro de Castillo, Francis Muderra, and another Spaniard, Barrera, all adherents and helpers of Agostino. The attack so nimbly begun was boldly prosecuted. Not only did Navarro privately relate iniquitous acts of Ignatius which he asserted himself to have known, but he formally accused him before the Governor of Rome, Monsignor Conversini. The effect of these reports, backed and seemingly confirmed by an action so bold, was immense. The Jesuits were as generally shunned and detested

CHAPEL OF LA STORTA, NEAR ROME

as before they were frequented and revered. The power of their preaching and conversation was set down to witchcraft, a facile charge in those days. How complete was Agostino's success and the terror he had spread among the followers of the new preachers is shown by one fact. The Cardinal Legate had given them two priests to help in hearing confessions: these priests now fled. For all expected the hand of the authorities to fall soon and heavily on the Jesuits. And not without reason. Quirino Garzonio, in whose house Ignatius had formerly lived, was upbraided by his kinsman, Cardinal de Cupis, the head of the Sacred College, for having to do with these suspected men. He replied by alleging his own experience of Ignatius's holiness. The usual response came: Quirino was misled by enchantments. "You do not know," said de Cupis, "what convincing proofs I have of their wickedness. Be assured, these men are very different from what you suppose."

When all men seemed to fail them, Ignatius remembered and reminded Christ of His words at La Storta: "*Ego vobis Romæ propitius ero.*" And they were fulfilled. Ignatius sought an interview with de Cupis, who granted it with the forbidding assurance, "I shall treat him as he deserves." Garzonio awaited the issue in another room, and waited two hours. For Ignatius subdued the Cardinal by those "enchantments" against which his red robes were no protection, so that he too knelt and besought forgiveness of the Saint. It was even as it had been with the Rector at Paris, when the rod was ready for Ignatius; and with all who tempted the personal fascination of this amaz-

ing man. Like the Rector, de Cupis brought him out of his room with the utmost show of reverence, promising him all help in his power in this or any matter. He further ordered a daily dole of bread and wine to him and his followers, and continued it throughout his lifetime.

Fresh from this victory, Ignatius attacked Conversini himself, the Governor of Rome, and requested an instant trial. It was granted, and resulted triumphantly. Navarro had the audacity not only to appear, but to repeat the old tale that at Alcalá, Paris, and Venice the Saint had been condemned of heresy. Ignatius calmly produced a letter of Navarro's own and read it out. In it Navarro eulogised Ignatius to a friend, and bore witness to his virtues from his own eyesight. Navarro admitted the letter, and broke down in confusion. Ignatius was justified ; his accuser was banished as a calumniator.

But Ignatius insisted on formal judgment and sentence, according to his wont ; while the Legate and judges were unwilling to proceed further. Agostino and his confederates offered to recant publicly, as they did before Legate and Governor, and they made strong influence against the course on which Ignatius was bent. He must needs await the Pope's return, and then, even, the matter hung suspended. But this indomitably patient man was not so to be baffled. He sought a personal interview with Paul ; related the various imprisonments he had undergone, and insisted on the necessity, brought home to him by those past experiences, of such a public pronouncement as should put the orthodoxy of his companions and himself beyond the further power of these tiresome, these unholily

dispiriting assaults. He succeeded. The Pope gave orders for a fresh trial before the Governor. Then happened a thing so extraordinary that Ignatius justly comments on it as a providence. For Figueroa, who imprisoned him at Alcalá; Ori, the Dominican Inquisitor who tried him in Paris; and the Vicar-General of the Venetian Legate, who proceeded against him in Venice—all these three, the very men who could attest the falsehood of Navarro's assertions, were at this time simultaneously in Rome and readily came forward on the Saint's behalf. Nor was this all. The Bishop of Vicenza, in whose diocese three or four of Ignatius's followers had preached, was also in Rome and affirmed in their favour; while Siena, Bologna, and Ferrara sent evidence in support. Finally, the Duke of Ferrara wrote specially to his ambassador, ordering him to say everything in his power on behalf of Simon Rodriguez and Le Jay, who had resided so long in his city. This ended the tragic farce; the Jesuits were cleared by a formal pronouncement of the completest character.

It was now, when his enemies were scattered, that Ignatius said his first Mass, so long delayed. Possibly his long abstention had lent plausibility to the libels uttered against him; just as he had formerly been a suspect in his zeal because he elected to be a layman. "I went at Christmas," he wrote, with a quietude some have thought baffling, "to Santa Maria Maggiore, and said there, with the help and grace of God, my first Mass, in the chapel which contains the crib where the Infant Jesus was laid."

This marks the close of that memorable year, 1538. The Order, not yet formally an Order,

merely a Company of preachers and missioners, had at last surrendered its Founder's heart-cherished scheme of work in the Holy Land, and entered on its true career. From that moment, and in brief

CHAPEL OF THE CRIB, ST. MARY MAJOR, ROME : TIME OF IGNATIUS

time, it had made singular advances. Its greater future was preparing, and to Ignatius came gleams of it. He met in Rome, as he was walking from the Ara Cœli, a young man of his former acquaintance in Barcelona—Miguel Arrovira. Miguel showed him a letter from the Catalan Governor, that youth who in triumphal welcome had passed Ignatius haled to a Spanish prison, Francis Borgia, now in the full joy of marriage to his beloved Leonora. Ignatius looked at the letter, and said :

"You will one day see the writer of that letter a member of the Company of Jesus, and its head." He had already prophesied to Arrovira the unhappy issue of his own marriage; and both prophecies were fulfilled. An immediate accession came to him after the defeat of Fra Agostino's conspiracy, in the person of his own nephew, Antonio Araoz. It was not till 1540, however, that Ignatius granted him admission to the Society; and since Araoz had to go back to provide for the surrender of his property, necessitated by his new life, Ignatius used him as the first Jesuit missionary in Spain. At Barcelona Ignatius was ardently remembered, and Araoz found the fields white for harvest. It was still one who sowed, and another who reaped. Before he left, Ignatius gave him a crucifix and a little picture of Mary Queen of Sorrows, which had been his own companion since the unforgettable initiation of Montserrat.

"Never," said he, "give this to any one: I have always worn it since I changed life and dress, and amidst many wants and dangers of soul and body I have ever experienced the protection of the Blessed Mother."

But Araoz lent it to Ignatius's niece, Doña Marina, from whom it passed to the Jesuits of Saragossa, where it long stayed.

Whatever the explanation of his warnings to his followers against women, women were ever his good friends. Does he not write this year, after the Agostino business, to Isabel Roser of the Barcelona days? "I am persuaded," he tells her, "that if I were to forget all the good that God has done me through you, with such love and compassion, His divine Majesty would forget me also; for you have

never ceased helping me, out of love and reverence to Him." Possibly the Saint, himself so free and frank, did not trust his followers at large to possess his own discernment of spirits, by which alone could be evaded the possible snare latent in society even of well-meaning but unregulated women, victims of their own emotions. He knew, also, that the peril may lie not in the woman at all, but in the man's self, in temperament.

On the energies of his Order the dying year made full demand. Famine was in Rome, famine and bitter winter. The perishing and destitute lay in the squares and streets, as in London the houseless in our day have lain in Trafalgar Square, and over four hundred were carried into the Jesuits' new house of the Torre del Melangolo. Three thousand are said to have been aided by them from first to last. Moved by such example, the rich poured in donations of food, clothing, and money, so that the Jesuits were able to provide warmth and covering for the poor whom they sheltered and fed. Beginning with the body, they were easily able to care for the soul. Many were reclaimed to God. Ignatius, one may say, informally anticipated the Salvation Army Shelters and Providence Row. For indeed this sixteenth century, splendid, calamitous, spacious, and ruinous, ushered in not only the rise of modern society, but that of our chief modern problems. Men stood aghast before them ; and the few of courage, initiative, and goodwill had to face them with what means came to hand, Ignatius being of that fit and honourable few.

CHAPTER VII

SUCCESS after long heart-sickness ; prominence so unforeseen by the struggling fraternity which had gravitated Romeward after the bringing to naught of the purpose which had first bound them together—a prominence partly forced and conferred on them by the very loudness of the clamour which had attempted their ruin ; the sudden concentration of official tolerance, if not favour, from all quarters ; the necessity of the time, calling them to action and by assault compelling them to coalescence ; a consensus of these and other circumstances drove the Company to entertain the idea of formal organisation.

Of necessity it had been entertained and debated already, in casual and fragmentary fashion, timidly and with much half-frightened dissent. Now Ignatius himself saw that it must be faced. It must be decided, in effect, whether they should—explicitly or virtually—constitute themselves a new Order. That is necessarily an anxious and timorous matter for a handful of men or women newly come together, with forms to be gone through, barriers broken down, influence conciliated, opposition and (worst of all) passively stubborn reluctance overcome. What need for novelty ? That is the cry hardest to refute ; and the feeling it represents most tenacious in sluggish resistance. How, too, can the humble innovators themselves feel sure there is indeed call for novelty, or that the call is precisely for *their* novelty ?

But here the question was of peculiar anxiety ; congregations, fraternities, societies, offered all

manner of expedients for evading the point-blank creation of a new Order, and increased the tremor of these first Jesuits at the idea of drifting, almost despite themselves, into the setting-up of a veritable Order of their own. A new Order? Why, old Orders were in no favour; nay, in almost utter discredit. The Church, stricken and sapped within, under attacks from without seemed to be disintegrating, and the Religious Orders shared the disintegration; one might say the disintegration could not have come about unless these banks of the Church had silted. With rottenness in the monasteries, there was little enough disposition to set up new Orders; be sure the trend was rather to rid the Church of the Orders which remained, as gangrened limbs which must otherwise infect the whole body. Under this very Paul III. a measure was advanced which practically could not have come far short of such amputations. The Commission which he deputed to examine Church abuses absolutely recommended that the existing Orders and Communities should be restrained from receiving novices. The intention was to let the corrupt generation die out; when a new and uncorrupted generation might be reared in the primitive spirit of the Founders. In practice the edict would have meant the enforced suicide of every Order in the Church; and, though it was rejected, its proposition is a terrible witness to the obloquy which had fallen upon Religious Orders even in the councils of supreme ecclesiastical authority. To seek the incorporation of a new Order, or what might appear a new Order, when Rome could barely and sorrowfully endure the old, it might well seem that this way lay madness. To

us of the twentieth century it may be plain that in the general decadence of the old lay concealed the germ of a new and vital Order, which should address itself to the clamorous needs of its day even as the Orders now seemingly languishing had arisen to meet the specific needs of *their* day.

Ignatius and his comrades prepared themselves, therefore, by prayer, fast, and individual reflection for a decision so difficult. Then, that they might not prejudice their work, they met for discussion by night. First, it was debated whether they should form an organic body, or should remain individual missioners at the Pope's disposal. The Pope had already used some of them in this way; so that it was no academic question. But against that idea they were unanimous: it would, obviously, have made them an ephemeral congeries of individuals, with no power of holding together or perpetuating themselves. Upon this decision followed inevitably the test question, in which all was involved: should they take the vow of obedience, as they had already taken the vows of poverty and chastity?

That was the decisive point. Some were for thirty or forty days' prayer in solitude before answering; others would delegate three or four to do this on behalf of the rest; again it was suggested that they should devote half the day to such prayer. But it was determined that they should simply have recourse to prayer in the ordinary way and Mass; consider the matter dispassionately as if they had to advise a stranger, and avoid discussion or canvassing among themselves. Then, at the next meeting, they were to adduce such reasons as had occurred to them against the vow;

and in the subsequent meeting the reasons which they had found in its favour.

The reasons against were such as we have already considered. The general unpopularity of a Religious Order might deter men from joining or aiding them if they took the vow of obedience. Above all, and this was the real point, they would thereby have to seek Papal approbation, with the possibility—nay, the likelihood—of refusal. Or, worse still, they might be commanded to enter some existing Order to the perishing of their hopes.

The opposing considerations, unlike these, went to the very root of the matter. From the disciplinary standpoint, it was plain that, without obedience, men would be apt to shirk tasks they liked not, if they could shift them on to others. Above all, without obedience the Society could not endure, it must lack coherence, and lapse. From the interior standpoint it was urged that obedience stimulated the heroic virtues, actions from which men, of their own initiative, would shrink. It was, moreover, the supreme specific against pride and self-will. Finally, it was set forth that obedience to the Pope could not efficiently replace obedience to one of the Society, since no Pope could charge himself with the multiplicity and minuteness of their private affairs. The decisive argument was plainly the impossibility that they should hold together and perpetuate themselves without obedience. That made the issue certain from the beginning. In effect, they could only survive as a Religious Order; and when, on April 15, 1539, they received Communion on this resolution of Holy Obedience, after signing a form to such effect, "should it be con-

firmed by our Lord the Pope," they had virtually engaged themselves to seek recognition as a Religious Order.

On the third of the sequent May they passed a series of resolutions, among which the first was, from this aspect, the most significant, namely, that whoever entered the Society should take an explicit vow of obedience to the Pope, and by it offer to go to any province or country whatsoever, whether of believers or unbelievers; such vow to be made before the Superior of the Society, or before the whole Society, but not before the Pope *in propria persona*. Herein the principle of separate government of the Society, as an Order, was implicitly affirmed. The further resolutions were: (2) To teach the Commandments to children or any one else. (3) To take a fixed time—an hour more or less—to teach the Commandments and catechism in an orderly way. (4) To give forty days in the year for this work. (5) That all candidates for the Society should go through the "Spiritual Exercises" and the other tests of the Society.

That last resolution is memorable, because here we have the simple germ whence evolve the elaborate tests, without parallel for searching strictness, of the modern Jesuits. These early Jesuits were for binding themselves to it by vow. Bobadilla firmly objected, and was suffered to carry his point, though to protect themselves from "obstruction" they passed a resolution that no single person should thereafter be regarded when he opposed the majority. On June 12 (the evening of the Octave of Corpus Christi) they decided the all-important matter of the Superior. He was to be for the entire Society, and elected for life—with

THE TIVOLI CASTLE, WHERE PAUL III APPROVED THE CONSTITUTIONS OF IGNATIUS

restrictions afterward to be determined. It was further decided, in case of the spread of the Society, or dispersal of its members amongst foreign countries, that the Constitutions should be settled by the brethren in Italy; who might either be called to Rome, or their votes gathered by writing. This fixed Italy as the centre of the Order. The drawing-up of all remaining resolutions was delegated to Ignatius and Codure—the approval of the Society reserved. By the twenty-fourth of June, the Baptist's feast, the task was completed. It was left for Ignatius to draft their decisions, in five chapters, for the inspection of the Pope.

Then came the conflict. Not unduly had the associates dreaded the result of presenting themselves as a would-be Order. At first, indeed, all went well. The opposition did not come from the Pope. He listened favourably to Cardinal Contarini's advocacy of the petition, and remitted Ignatius's manuscript, presented by the Cardinal, to the Master of the Sacred Palace for examination. That official read and returned it to Contarini with approval. Armed with the opinion of the Dominican Master of the Palace, Contarini sought the Pope at his Tivoli castle; and, adding his own petition to that of Ignatius, read the famous five chapters. Paul discerned the timeliness of the new weapon offered to his hands. After listening and examining, he cried, "The finger of God is here." Contarini thought that all was won, and wrote to Ignatius that he might expect the instant preparation of the necessary Brief so soon as the Pope returned to Rome. He was disappointed. Paul submitted the chapters to three Cardinals for consideration and decision. One was Guidiccioni

of Lucca; and Guidiccioni was precisely of those most wrath with the degeneration of the Religious

CARDINAL GASPAR CONTARINI
(*From an Engraving in the British Museum*)

Orders, and therefore most hostile to the creation of new Orders. "What, another!" Why, he was for the sweeping away of all existing fraternities save four, and the rigid reformation of those. This man, poet as well as theologian, would not

so much as read the chapters. To him, doubtless, the Dominican's approbation was of scant weight; a Religious was a prejudiced witness in favour of a would-be Religious. His powerful personality dominated his colleagues; and the fate of the petition seemed sealed. Ignatius fell back on his customary weapons, Mass and prayer. Months passed, however, and nothing resulted, until a sudden change came. Without apparent cause, or himself knowing why he changed his mind, Guidiccioni the prejudiced asked that the chapters should be read to him. He was impressed, examined them, and announced that without receding from his opinion (of course without receding a hair's-breadth from his fixed opinion) he found the proposed Community unique and so fitted to the needs of the day that he would make an exception in its favour. He carried his still acquiescing colleagues with him, and they united in a commendatory report to Paul III. The issue was the Bull "Regimini," which established the Society, but stipulated that the number of professed be restricted to sixty; a restriction, three years afterwards, withdrawn.

Thus the Company of Jesus, in the latter days of 1540, became an accomplished fact. A new power was born into the Church, a veritable ecclesiastical portent. Yet such is man, even beneath the tonsure, that far from the high import of the fresh arrival being even conjectured, the special favour shown in its obtaining sanction at such a time of reaction provoked present jealousy and prophecies of ill. Its very name was a stumbling-block. Thus, it is related, at a later time the Cardinal de Cueva spoke strongly against it in talk

with two of the Society; it was presumptuous, said he, and would move men to envy.

"Let them call us the Congregation or Order of Jesus, if they will not call us the Company of Jesus," was Ignatius's comment when this was told him; "but I do not think the name of Jesus can ever be taken from us."

And when, during the vehement attack of the Sorbonne upon the Society, in 1554, Aliguel Torres wrote from Spain that some of their Society doubted the wisdom of the title because of the jealousy it stirred, Ignatius answered: "The name has a deeper root than the world wots of, and cannot be changed."

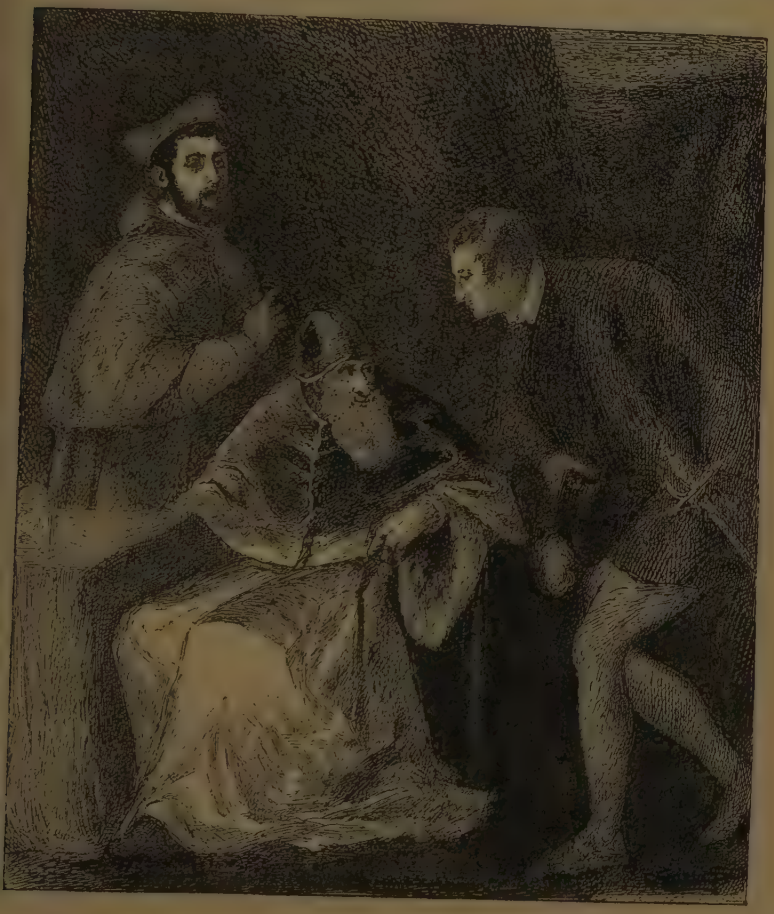
He was right. Even so late as Acquaviva's Generalship, no less a power than Sixtus V. determined against the title, and enjoined on the General its abolition. Acquaviva obeyed, and brought the Pope a decree forbidding the Provincials to continue the use of the name, as Sixtus had required of him. But the voice of the dead Ignatius prevailed. The satisfied Pope went no further in the affair, and the Society kept its title unchanged to all posterity. But the name *Jesuit*, be it noted, was none of the Order's mintage. It was a fling of contempt, like many another name now honourably borne—like the names Whig or Tory, like the name Christian itself—and is said to have been coined by Calvin.

The exemption of the new Society from the duty of singing Divine Office in choir was another matter for soreness with the older Orders, as though their choir-singing were, indeed, a burden to them! The Dominican theologian, Dominic Soto, protested that without such observance no

community was an Order at all. His was the old devotion to the letter which killeth, ignoring the active duties which made the exemption advisable.

Scarce had the new Company been Papally constituted—it was yet without a formal and official General—when it was strengthened by the adhesion of a very young and very remarkable recruit—the boy who was to be Ignatius's greatest biographer. It was almost a matter of course with this early band that he should be a Spaniard. Whether they took the sword of the flesh or of the spirit, these Spaniards were the finest swordsmen and greatest soldiers of the age ; the only men who had broken the heretofore invincible phalanx of the dreaded Swiss mercenaries and scattered their serried spears. This Spanish Company of Captain Iñigo was to be no less feared among the Swiss ranks of Calvin. Now took service with it a youth after Ignatius's own heart, Pedro de Ribadeneira. Audacious, wilful, gallant, turbulent, hot-tempered, quick alike at letters and all manly exercise or accomplishment, he was the stuff out of which greatness comes for good or ill, a Clive, a Byron, or—a Saint. For it is the crudest of fallacies to suppose that Saints are fashioned customarily from tea and carpet-slippers. This was emphatically a forward lad. Son of a widow at Toledo, like most widows' sons, one may guess, he was "spoiled," and had for his wilful petulance easy, if not unchecked, scope. His bold temper early showed itself: at seven years of age he got a hurt in trying to stop a runaway mule ; and, later, succeeded in getting a broken leg from a playmate. When the Cardinal Farnese visited Toledo bearing Papal condolence to Charles V. on

the death of Isabella the Empress, young Ribadeneira attached himself to the party (the Nunciature being over against his mother's house) and



PAUL III., CARDINAL ALEXANDER FARNESE, AND OCTAVIUS FARNESE
(*From the unfinished painting by Titian, in the National Museum, Naples*)

waited on Farnese at his meals. Guidiccioni, who so nearly thwarted the recognition of the Jesuit Order, was one of the embassage, and even his austerity was captivated by the boy. He suggested

that Farnese should take Pedro back with him to Rome; and the Cardinal, no less charmed, readily agreed.

Horsemanship, fencing, dancing, and letters all came alike to Ribadeneira in his new environment, as once to the young Ignatius himself. But he showed himself scarce less a handful to manage in the Farnese household than in his mother's home. Not the Papal presence could awe him. At an entertainment given by Paul to his Farnese kinsfolk, the pages attended with lighted torches. One of the lads made a face at Ribadeneira, or Ribadeneira said he made a face. Instantly Master Pedro sprang forward and darted his torch at the page's head. At Candlemas, in receiving his taper, he kissed the Papal hand instead of the Papal slipper. The Pope, lenient towards the scapegrace as every one else, merely asked his name. Finally, the Cardinal commanded his attendance into the country, and the page instead played truant over Rome. When night fell he dared not go back to the palace. Ortiz, Ignatius's enemy turned friend, had told him to visit the Saint when he arrived in Rome. He now remembered the injunction; and in the dark of the evening Ignatius, himself answering the convent bell, found at the door a runaway page imploring shelter and intercession. Here, too, Ribadeneira found indulgence and a lodging for the night. When Ignatius arrived at the palace next day on his errand of pleading, Farnese laughed, and bade him send the truant back, secure of pardon. But the truant would not come. He had fallen deep in love with his new friends, and was minded to make his stay permanent. So sudden a change appeared incredible,

and one might have thought was little likely to be more lasting than any other whim of the wilful fifteen-year-old boy. Ignatius was of another opinion, though he bade Ribadeneira consult his friends; and when the lad maintained his intent, received him as an inmate, and ultimately a novice.

This strange postulant had not so much as made his first Communion (a sign of the times to be noted if we are to read this history aright), and things did not go smoothly with him. They kept him in secular dress at first, till they saw what was like to come of him; and soon he grew tired and petulant. Ignatius's reprimands met with no more docility than any one else's from the young do-as-I-please: but from his own early nature he must needs have understood the wayward lad, and gauged him better worth the winning than stuff more facile and pliant. When the Almighty Himself had to choose a people, one remembers He elected what Himself many times pronounced to be a "stiff-necked race." So Ignatius fell to prayer, as was ever his way with what are counted impossibilities, and then summoned Ribadeneira, who on his first words began to sob: "I will make them, Father, I will make them." He meant the "Exercises," through which he had not yet passed; and make them he did, confession following, and Communion on the Christmas of the same memorable year, 1540.

That did not end matters, by any means, and the tale of his novitiate one reads with kindly amusement—it is so very human. He went to bed in his clothes, because he did not like early rising. His impetuosity broke out in everything. He came leaping down stairs, and ran all over the house; he

choked the brethren when he swept ; and it required Ignatius himself to appease the harried Master of Novices. The boy tried hard, after his own fashion ; he absolutely made less noise ; he tied something to his legs to remind him that he must not run downstairs. But this did not prevent him from "making faces" at his fellow-novice, or taking breakfast into his own room, against the rule, by way of saving time. Set to dress dinner when Ignatius had a guest, he brought in an egg-pasty cooked by himself, hoping a compliment ; but the pasty was burned to nothing, and his eagerness had its reproof. He had, however, his luckier turns. The Saint asked him what it was to be a secretary, and was answered, "It is to be faithful in keeping secrets." Whereon Ignatius made him his own secretary.

But whatever the virtue of his secrecy, his writing and spelling were very bad. As a rule Ignatius was patient ; but once, by way of spur, he cast the writings on the floor, saying, "This foolish boy will never do any good." And then the lad, warm-hearted as careless, beat his cheeks and sobbed. Despite all which, he justified Ignatius's confidence and care, and came successfully through the two years of his arduous novitiate.

THE SEAL OF THE SOCIETY

CHAPTER VIII

THE Society was now an approved Order, and a permanent official Superior became a consequent necessity. Hitherto, as we have related, Superiors had held office by rotation, each of the members exercising the office for a brief period. Now that the Society was established on a lasting basis, a continuous head was the final necessity for its continuous existence. There could be no doubt who this head must be. Whatsoever Superior for a space held office, the Founder and inspirer inevitably remained the true head.

But Ignatius had never acted with any autocracy; everything had been decided by collective voice of the members, save the one matter of the Society's name. But at Easter, 1541, Ignatius summoned a conference to decide this last point of a permanent head, and five met at Santa Maria della Strada. Lainez, Le Jay, and Broët were among these. The rest sent their votes in writing. Bobadilla, on petition of the people, was bidden by the Pope to stay at Calabrian Bisignano, where he was. He had not even time to send his vote; but we do not need his declaration that it would have gone with the choice of the convention. Xavier and Rodriguez, called to other work, had left sealed votes in Rome. Favre sent his vote from the Diet now sitting at Worms, in which the new force of Catholicism was to bear a part so illustrious. Ignatius (by the brethren's desire) drew up the plan of the election, which was reviewed and adopted. As in a Conclave, the members held no communication upon the matter in hand.

Three days' prayer, and on April 7 the voting-papers were opened. Xavier's paper, declaring his adhesion to the decisions of the assembly, asked Lainez to take the vows on his behalf, and nominated Ignatius as their head. Ignatius, in fact, was chosen by all the votes barring his own, which he gave to none. When the result became known, he refused to accept office, and asked them to seek enlightenment in a second vote; alleging ill-health, the worldliness of his early life, and his present incapacity, possibly the weight of his fifty years. No doubt he would willingly have withdrawn to a more contemplative life, holding that the Society was now independent of his government. But after three days' further prayer the election repeated itself. He still refused; whereon Lainez solemnly asserted that he would accept no other head, and would leave the Society to dissolution unless Ignatius gave way. As a last resort, Ignatius offered to abide by the decision of his confessor, the Franciscan Fra Teodosio, of the Convent of San Pietro in Montorio. The association of Francis and Ignatius is interesting; let it therefore be recorded that it was a Franciscan who finally gave the Jesuits their first and greatest General. By way of securing what to him appeared a favourable decision, Ignatius spent three days in the convent, praying and confessing. Having thus exposed his iniquities, he asked the Franciscan to acquaint his own brethren in writing with the unworthiness of their choice. Teodosio's written decision was therefore opened before all the members, and proved to be a statement that the penitent was bound to accept the voice of his brethren and the office to which they had summoned him. Con-

demned out of the mouth of his chosen referee, Ignatius gave way. The Society had its General on April 13, 1541.

Two days later (April 15), this ceremony was followed by another, when the Fathers of the Society present in Rome made their profession. In St. Paul's Beyond-the-Walls, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, on the Gospel side of the high

San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, Traditional Site of the Martyrdom of St. Peter

altar, Ignatius said Mass. Lainez, Salmeron, Le Jay, Codure, and Broët knelt before the altar ; and turning round before the Communion, the Host in his hand, the General read out his own vows, and communicated. The five in turn took their vows to their General, and received the Host. After Mass they made the round of the privileged altars in the church ; and, returning to the high altar, embraced their Founder and General, kissing his hand with tears which might well have risen even to northern eyes. They finished by signing a paper, presumably destined for the Pope, recording

the election of Ignatius and the placing of their vows in his hands. The first to take the vows among the five had been Codure, a man they held in high esteem ; and in the course of this same year he died. Ignatius was proceeding towards San Pietro in Montorio to say Mass for him when, in the middle of the bridge, he halted, and looking upward, said, " Let us return. Codure is dead."

The new General nowise altered the simplicity of his habits ; he began his Generalship by helping for some days in the kitchen, and he taught catechism for forty-six days in the Jesuits' church, Santa Maria della Strada. " Grown-ups," no less than children, frequented these instructions ; and, apart from the attraction of the teacher, they had perhaps no less need of the instruction, and, above all, of the spirit of love by which that desire to spread the Gospel was informed.

Ribadeneira gives us an account of it which prettily illustrates the kindly simplicity which won love for Ignatius, and which we are apt to overlook among his severer and more commanding qualities. The discourse was more pious than learned, says brilliant Ribadeneira, which, for that matter, was quite the right thing. But it was also in very bad Italian ; and young Ribadeneira, with the bold freedom which perhaps he alone ventured to use with the General, not only told the Saint of the defect, but recommended that he should strive to rid himself of his Spanish idioms. Ignatius assented, and asked his young critic to note and repeat to him his blunders after the instruction. " Gil Blas " was not yet written, and the youth did not hesitate to fill his appointed function He escaped Gil Blas's fate at the hands

of the Archbishop; but the Iberianisms were beyond counting. Ignatius smiled; "My Pedro, what can we do against God?"—meaning that he could not escape his native disabilities. This was something short of his accustomed indomitableness, and perhaps meant that he did not take his bad Italian so seriously as his young follower did. If so, he was right, by Ribadeneira's own account. His power was a thing apart from words, like that of so many—perhaps most—great leaders. They have the magnetism of the "well-graced actor," which hushes the audience at his mere entry on the stage. Who more unlike the chivalrous Spaniard than Wesley? But Wesley's "converted" disciple records that the Methodist leader, before one word spoken, impressed him with awe, and doubtless upon others among the waiting listeners the like sensation fell. So Ribadeneira describes Ignatius: "Even when he was silent, his countenance moved his hearers." When he spoke, it was not what he said, it was the suppressed heat of personal feeling, personal conviction which enkindled men. This has ever been the secret of great teachers, were they only schoolmasters; it is the communication of themselves which avails. Virtue goes forth from them. It drew men to children's instruction, and made the catechising of Ignatius more potent than that "pulpit eloquence" which our own Manning held in holy horror. He knew, as all discerners know, that it is by the spirit of a preacher that men are moved—not by mere parrot words.

These early Jesuits, under the direct rule of their Founder, like so many of the successors, display a singular and most adroit mixture of individualism

with military precision of obedience. In the latter quality we must not lose sight of the former. No two things could be more exteriorly unlike than Franciscan democracy and Jesuit autocracy. Yet the Order of Francis could hardly be more individualistic beneath the surface than the Order of Ignatius. On both, by wholly different methods, the common and penetrating seal was set, so that Jesuit or Franciscan was Jesuit or Franciscan all through. But that seal once set, nay, in the setting of it (little though this might appear on the surface), the Jesuit's personality was sedulously educed and fostered. He was assigned to do that which he was, to act himself; even as, after other fashion, the law of Franciscan simplicity was to be one's self. For all wise spiritual training is one in end, though the roads to that end are many, and in the diversity of human nature several men prefer several ways. In those diversities of nature and election lie the need and justification of many Religious Orders. Ignatius's power as a Founder lay even more in his sagacity of training than in his wisdom of leading. And his handling of the headstrong, generous, able Ribadeneira, in its blending of indulgence and severity, its relaxation and tightening of the rein, excellently shows his skill. There we have a glimpse into detail, which may hereafter be extended. But the results are written large in the lists of men, diverse in character as they were equal in illustriousness, who came forth from the Society during the life of its founder. From the first this Order flung its net over the intellectual aristocracy of Catholicism; it was the capture and marshalling of this aristocracy which made it formidable to the Reformation, and to those

now decaying forces of Italian humanism, the rear-guard of the Renascence, which — seemingly triumphant—were ready to crumble before vigorous attack.

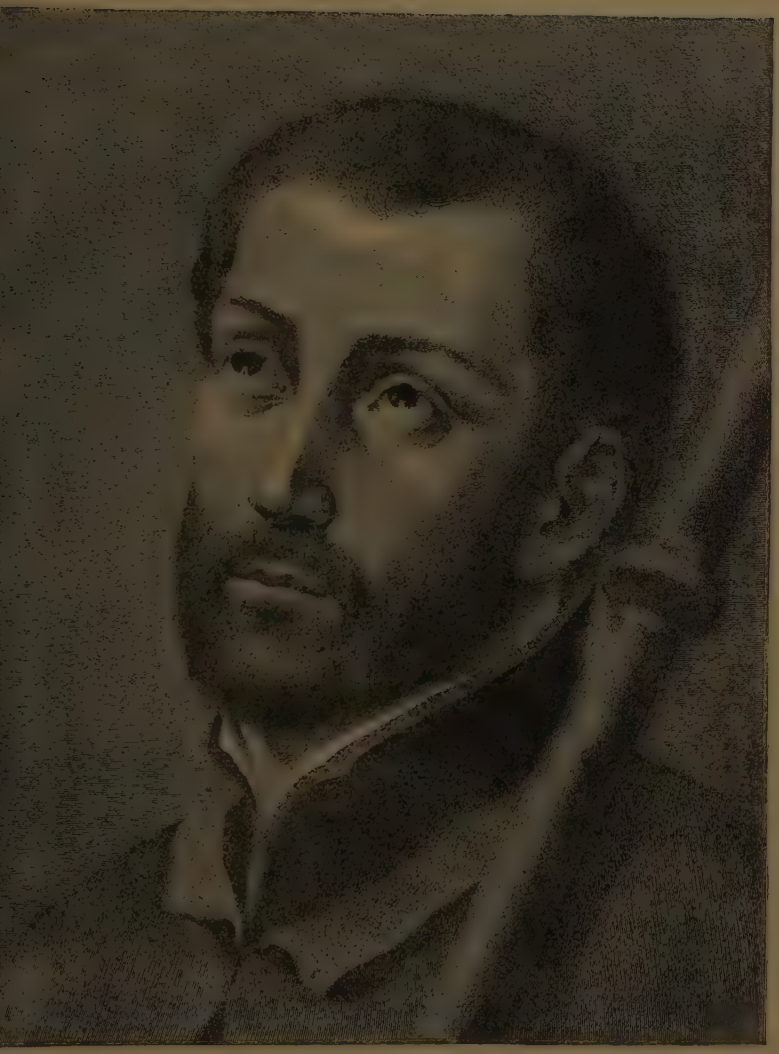
That attack was now to begin ; and the new army was about to throw itself, energetic and hopeful, against the victorious advance of the Reformation, which it would beat back if it could not conquer. Even before the election of Ignatius as General the movement had started. Broët, Rodriguez, and Strada evangelised Siena. Favre and Lainez worked reformation in Parma. At Tuscan Bagnorea, Le Jay healed a bitter feud between clergy and people. Bobadilla pacified dissensions in the Isle of Ischia, part of the distracted Neapolitan kingdom, though it was long before the disorders of the kingdom itself found effectual remedy. And Francis Xavier sailed for India.

That great event—so great, yet finally so seeming ineffectual—demands that we pause on it. Portugal was now the vanguard of Europe in the Indies : her flag flew supreme in those waters, unchallenged by Dutch or English, whose navies were yet unnoted among the nations ; she held the coast of Hindustan, and bade fair to forestall the future Indian empire of England. Unlike Holland, France, and England, when their day arrived, she had a conscience of her responsibility as the van of Christendom in the East. She felt herself the bearer to India of more treasurable merchandise than all the products of the West ; the pupils of the East should now return to her what they had received from her—Christianity. Joam III. of Portugal looked round him for missioners who

might Christianise his Indian conquests; and he asked advice of Gouvea. We know Gouvea, Ignatius's old Rector and bitter adversary at the Collège Ste. Barbe. Now he had undergone the like change with Ortiz, and other foes grown friends. We know his design to flog the Saint, and his sudden change when confronted by that irresistible personality. He had the chance at last to make great amends, and he took it. He commended to the King the new Society as the fit instrument for his purpose, and at Joam's request wrote to his old collegian.

Thus it came to pass that Ignatius had the opportunity, early and long desired, to evangelise the heathen—if not through himself, at least through his sons. He was not like to hesitate. He and his brethren, he responded, were ready to go whithersoever the Pope sent them. Forthwith Joam urged his petition at the Papal Court. "Six Jesuits," demanded the Portuguese Ambassador, Mascarenhas, improving on his instructions. "If from so small a Society you take six for one kingdom, what is left for the rest of the world?" calculated and asked Ignatius. Two, he said, were already wanted as missionaries by the Pope. Paul would not compel the General's acquiescence, despite the Ambassador's entreaties; and Mascarenhas was obliged to accept Ignatius's offer of Bobadilla and Rodriguez. Rodriguez, back from Siena, sailed from Civita Vecchia on March 5; but Bobadilla came from Naples with rheumatism, and could not undertake the journey. Ignatius was himself ill, but he sent for Xavier.

"You know, Brother Messer Francis, that two of us, by His Holiness's command, must depart for



ST. FRANCIS XAVIER
(*From the Engraving of Marco Pitteri*)

India; and Bobadilla, who was chosen, is kept by ill-health. The Ambassador is in such haste he will not wait: God designs to use you for this mission."

"Father, I am here ready to sail," answered Xavier; and next day, March 16, he started with Mascarenhas. He presented himself before Ignatius for the journey in an old cassock which he had himself mended, with his breviary for entire baggage. Ignatius, who knew the Alps and their passage in the rough April weather, stripped off his own flannel vest to clothe him.

"Go," he said, "set all on fire and flame."

How well Xavier did that bidding, the Indies witnessed. On his very way he sowed flame, so that from his halting-place at Bologna he wrote to Ignatius: "I have much more to do at Bologna than at San Luigi"—San Luigi is Rome.

Joam found the Jesuits so much to his taste that he was loth to let them leave Portugal after all; and the year wore out in negotiations with the Pope and Ignatius before he compromised by retaining Rodriguez, while Xavier was suffered to proceed on his voyage. The King would have provided for him with all amplitude, as a Papal Nuncio; but Francis would have nothing beyond three sailors' coats for himself and two companions, with a few books. Nor would he dine with the Admiral, De Sousa. He turned his cabin into a hospital, and shared among the sick the viands set before him, while he begged for himself remainder-fragments from the passengers. This, though for two months he was sea-sick. After this manner, the great Apostle of the Indies set sail from Portugal on the illustrious April 7, 1541.

Rodriguez remained to found Seminaries in Lisbon and throughout Portugal. In 1542, besides an establishment in Lisbon, he founded the College of Coimbra, which sprang at once from twenty-five to sixty pupils, and, four years later, took the lead in admitting lay-students. This was a step of incalculable importance in spreading the Jesuit influence throughout Europe. At first the Portuguese were hostile, and drove out the students. They resented Ignatius's system of appointing foreign brethren to the College. He was resolute that his Jesuits should be cosmopolitan, and implacable towards that strange paradox, the spirit of nationality in religion, which is nothing if not universal. Doubtless the decree of Providence which had refused him his education in Spain, and drove him to the University of a stranger-land, with the fact that his own Order had found its early material among Spaniards outside Spain, operated to foster in him this idea. His sons were carefully to adopt the habits and language of the country in which they lived. Some of the priests in these early Portuguese colleges came from heretical places; a fact which specially roused the mistrust of the Iberians. But the Society quickly lived down this local opposition, and spread wide through Spain and Portugal.

Rodriguez subsequently became tutor to the King's son—much against his will, but by Ignatius's order. The two things in his life which had most vexed him, he said, were his failure to accompany Xavier to India, and the compulsion to live in a palace. His methods of evangelisation were those nowadays associated with the Salvation Army. He and his brethren went out in the evening and stood at the

Illustris Civitatis CONIMBRIAE in Lusitania
Flumen Illunda
Fluuius Mondego

street-crossings crying in rhyme : " Death draws near, yet the sinner quits not his sin. Ah me, what folly ! " In similar fashion they went about to collect beforehand audiences for their preachers in the street. Critics said it was not dignified ; but it succeeded. And when an impression had been made, there were the " Exercises " to fix it.

At Coimbra was asked of one who had passed through the " Exercises," " Did they not show you monsters and devils ? "—the old charge was that the Jesuits were magicians. " Worse than that," said he, " they showed me myself."

CHAPTER IX

THE final matter for which Ignatius had now to provide, that his Society might be permanent, was the drawing up of Constitutions. As with St. Francis of Assisi, this was the last thing attended to, and was preceded by temporary regulations. Necessarily, practice and experience precedes theory, which is to a certain extent based upon them. As an interim aid, he distributed among the professed members a set of written rules, nine in number, which may perhaps here be quoted.

"1. The Fathers are constantly to occupy their hearts with God; whether in their cells or in the world, they are never to leave His divine presence. The life of Jesus is to be their example. This Divine model must be impressed upon their souls.

"2. They are to see in their superiors the image of God Himself, assured that obedience is a guide which cannot mislead; to reveal all their thoughts as well as actions to those appointed over them, knowing that we must ever mistrust our own judgment.

"3. When conversing with their sinful fellow-creatures, they are to use such precautions as would be reasonable in regard to a drowning man, so that two might not perish together. The sinner should be dear to every one of the Society; not only as the child of their common Father, but each should love him as himself. In argument, the greatest vigilance must be used to banish all desire of triumph. There is but one rational end to be

proposed in discussion, the establishment of truth; the spirit as well as the words must be guided by this only.

"4. They are to keep silence when necessity does not oblige them to speak; and then no worldly, nor vain-glorious, nor idle talk must in any way mix in the conversation.

"5. If it please God to work great things through their means, they must count themselves as nothing but a worthless instrument, such as was the jaw-bone of an ass in the hand of Samson. To be satisfied with their own judgment, or wisdom, or prudence would be a folly. A Religious must consider himself best rewarded for what he does for his neighbour when he receives reproach and contumely, such as the world gave to the labours of Our Divine Lord.

"6. If any Fathers fall into an obvious transgression, likely to dimish the esteem in which the whole body is held, they ought not to be discouraged; but should thank God for having shown their weakness, so that they may walk humbly and carefully in future, and that their brethren may take warning; remembering that all are formed from the same clay, and praying earnestly for the defaulter.

"7. During time of recreation they must observe the modesty which the Apostle requires at all times, neither mirthful to excess nor too grave.

"8. They must never neglect a present opportunity of doing good, for the sake of some greater future good; for this is an artifice of the devil to turn away our minds from the common works which we might perform.

"9. Let each remain firm in his vocation as if

the roots were laid deep in the foundations of the Lord's house. For as the enemy often inspires the solitary with the desire of living in a community, so he frequently makes those who are called to convert souls desire solitude, and would fain lead them in a path contrary to that which it is their duty to follow."

Such was the preliminary sketch (we might say) which Ignatius made of his Society on the practical daily side. But in drawing up the veritable Constitutions he proceeded slowly, with infinite labour, and (above all) with infinite meditation and prayer. His elaborate and patient caution is illuminated by a chance fragment of his journal, which escaped when he burned all his papers before his death—an act dictated, one guesses, at least partly by his resolve not to court even posthumous publicity, and singularly contrasting with the spirit of our own day, which seeks even to forestall posthumous fame. Therein he had debated a single point of the Constitutions; whether (that is) the churches and sacristies of the Professed houses should be allowed endowments. He had strictly written out the reasons *pro* and *con*, pondering them, it appeared, no less than forty days. Yet this was but one item of the numerous considerations which were developed with equal precaution. This, and all his other written projects, he then laid on the altar, offering them for the Divine approval during Mass. And, before doing so, he had already gone through prelusive meditation and prayer. The act was an integral part of his living sensibility to the Divine presence and personality: it was native with him to consult God as with a son to consult his father, nor was he less confident in a personal answer.

ST. PAUL'S BEYOND-THE-WALLS, ROME, WHERE IGNATIUS TOOK HIS LAST VOWS

The process of this consultation and communication is revealed by a portion of his journal. Be it remembered that its intimacy was never meant for human eye : otherwise, so alien is it to our experience and comprehension, to the religious—or a religious—spirit of the present day, that we should be tempted to view it as a theatrical exhibition of unwholesome emotionality. We should read it as we would the accidental revelation of a lover's intimate privacies, with the same sense of hearing what we were not intended to hear, the same sense of respectful delicacy. An age which drinks with epicurean emotion the tears of perished lovers, preserved in the lachrymals of dainty editions, is intolerant and disgusted only when the beloved is —God. It should be understood also, in reading, that Ignatius regards the gift of emotional sweetness not as a necessity of religious life, or an evidence of sanctity, but as a favour marking the Divine approval of his plans, a consolation sustaining him in his daily struggle. The extract is headed, " Saturday, the Fifth Mass of the Trinity" ; and the Saint speaks of himself indifferently in the first and the third person—which is a little confusing.

" During my usual prayer, though there was not much at first, after the second half, his soul felt a great devotion, and was exceedingly consoled ; it saw also a certain object, and a form of very bright light. While they were making the altar ready, Jesus presented Himself to his mind, and invited me to follow Him ; for I am quite convinced that He is the head and guide of the Society, and that it is especially on this account that it ought to practise poverty and renunciation in the highest

degree, though there are also other motives which I have considered in coming to a decision. This idea disposed my mind to fervour and to tears, but also to perseverance. So that, if I had no tears at this Mass, and those of the following days, the feelings of that time sufficed to support me through all temptations and troubles. While I thought of all this, and was vesting for Mass, my emotions increased. I saw in them a confirmation of the resolve I had taken ; I had no other consolations. The Holy Trinity itself seemed to confirm my decision, as the Son communicated Himself thus to me, for I recalled to mind the time when the Father deigned to place me with His Son. When I was vested, the name of Jesus impressed itself upon me more and more ; I felt fortified against all attacks. I wept and sobbed afresh. . . . When I had begun the Holy Sacrifice, I received many graces and pious emotions and gentle tears, which lasted long. As the Mass continued, many inspirations confirmed what I had resolved ; and when I raised the Sacred Host, I felt as it were an inward suggestion, and a powerful impulse never to abandon Our Lord, in spite of all obstacles ; and this was accompanied by a new delight, and fresh impressions. This . . . lasted the whole time, even after Mass, and throughout the day. Whenever I thought of Jesus this pious feeling and this fixed purpose returned to my mind."

This passage not only reveals the manner of these supernal consultations with the Saint's Divine Master, but suggests a further reason for the destruction of the journal. Ignatius no doubt felt that it contained matter over-intimate to be left for the eye of the multitude. Saints like Saint

John of the Cross, Saint Teresa, Saint Catherine of Genoa, Saint Gertrude, Blessed Angela da Foligno, have left records—or attempted records—of their most transcendent experiences, for the help and guidance of others following in the like marvellous and difficult way ; with a divinely simple disregard, one might say unconsciousness, of any possible self-glorification which might be imputed to them. They set forth their simple experiences with the simple sincerity of poets, and the same sense of a treasury entrusted to them for revelation, the same irresistible urgence to reveal it up to the limits of their expression. But Ignatius, the man of action, with a contemplative aspect, half-soldier, half-poet, has no such urgent impulse towards self-revelation as have these entire contemplatives, these Divine poets pure and simple. The counter-instinct to hide treasure, overpowered in them by the goad towards self-communication, a Divine no less than a temperamental goad, in him has unchecked force. He destroys and covers his celestial trail. Only from the casual hints of witnesses, the chance-dropped suggestions of conversation, interpreted by aid of these others' heavenly confidences, are we admitted to conjecture in the doer experiences parallel with those of the Paradisal dreamers. Moreover, these dreamers were not all dreamers ; Saint Teresa, in particular, has a record of external activity scarce less strenuous than Ignatius's own. So that we really surmise the hidden side of the great Jesuit, and understand the apparent difference between him and these others to be a mere matter of expression, not inward and substantial.

But we stray from the Constitutions. It was his

habit, when he had formed his own decision, to rectify or confirm it by conferring with his brethren. At times he would abandon all affairs to concentrate himself on this single important matter. He studied, indeed, the constitution of other Orders. But in the actual drawing up of his Rule he kept before him only the Bible and his beloved à Kempis. Saint Ignatius, said Canon Sega, constructed his Society rather by inspiration than by skill. But in the face of this sedulous labour and the careful comparison of previous rules, it seems truer to say by inspiration and skill. The Saint himself asked his assistant, Polanco, whether he conceived the founders of Orders to be assisted by God in creating their Constitution; and, on Polanco's answering in the affirmative, observed, "I think so too." Nevertheless, Divine direction does not exclude human material and the due exercise of human wisdom. In the ritual of him who talked with the angel on Sinai there are discoverable elements drawn from Chaldaic ritual and the rites of the Pagan nations surrounding the Jews; so that Saint Jerome held the Mosaic religion and religious forms to have combined all that was best in the heathen religions about them, that the Jews might not hanker after the "flesh-pots of the Egyptians," and Saint Augustine thought Moses to have "spoiled the Egyptians" in more than a material sense. Saint Ignatius's inspiration may be abundantly conceded without accounting him more independent of human aids than Moses.

His object, as he declares in the outset of the Constitutions, was to combine the pursuit of personal salvation and perfection with the pursuit of the neighbours' salvation and perfection. He

wished to combine the active and contemplative lives. It is an aim more vast than Tintoretto's "drawing of Michael Angelo and colour of Titian." But he called on his fellows to attempt what he himself had achieved (if it be not over-rash to say so) in larger measure than any since the Apostle of the Gentiles. On the one side he laid down for the Jesuit, reception of Sacraments, study of the Bible and of religious writings, with the practices of the interior life—mental prayer and the rest. On the other, preaching and catechising, the work of evangelisation all over the world, educational work, controversial work, serving in prison and hospital, confessions, and the work of direction in general.

In nothing did he show greater prescience than in the stress he laid on the mission of the teacher. He saw that the Reformers were striving to lay hold of the rising generation, and that the most effectual means of encountering them was to secure the Catholic training of the young. Therefore he made the instruction of the young a part of the Jesuit's duties. During the first four or five years of his new Order, this instruction was confined to religious teaching. But that, he perceived, was not sufficient. He must provide also secular training. The new doctrines were threatening to capture the Universities; and his Society would have to be a learned Society; as, indeed, became the followers of one who had shown such self-sacrificing resolution in repairing his own defects of knowledge. So he laboured to establish instruction likewise in the sciences—excluding only such as seemed inimical to religion. The significance of the exclusion lay in the fact that alchemy and astrology

were then accounted branches of learning—decidedly "odd branches of learning," as Lancelot says. The little Maximilian of Germany was actually allowed by his father to learn black magic, on condition only that he did not practise it. The first members of the Society had too much on their hands to be capable of carrying out to the full the plans of their Founder; but he required of all the later recruits that they should train themselves in literature and philosophy as well as theology and Scripture.

Such were the general aims of the Society, such the general lines of its training. It was designed specially to meet the new and deadly attack on the Church, along its whole line: the members were to be disciplined and expert Free Lances, ready at the Papal bidding for instant despatch to any menaced point, or to act as forlorn hopes in attack on the most formidable entrenched positions of the enemy. As regards the actual Constitutions, these were among their chief points.

The vows were of two kinds, simple and solemn. The simple vows, however, did not allow the taker to quit at pleasure; they bound him to the Society for life, unless dismissed by the authorities. The Society is distinguished into several grades.

The Lay-brothers or Temporal Coadjutors have no scholastic teaching, and their duties are confined to temporal matters; they take the final vows at thirty, after several years' service.

The Scholastics follow the prescribed course of study, and teach grammar in the schools when they have completed their rhetoric and philosophy.

The Spiritual Coadjutors aid the Professed in their ministry. They are eligible for all but the

highest posts, and are often chosen to leave the Professed at leisure for preaching. They take the final vows at thirty, after ten years in the Society.

The Professed, finally, are the core of the Society. They consist of those whose virtues and attainments reach a sufficient standard. They constitute an inner and privileged body without exact parallel in other Orders. Privileged, however, only because from them are chosen the holders of certain posts of trust as General, the General's assistants, and the Provincials. They take the solemn vows, after fifteen to eighteen years in the Society. Beside the Professed is an honorary grade—the Professed of the *three* vows, as distinguished from the above-mentioned Professed of the *four* vows. It is not, in fact, a separate grade ; but—like honorary titles in all bodies—is conferred on those of the Spiritual Coadjutor rank, in recognition and reward of special service ; conferring on them the dignity of the true Professed without their elegibility for the highest posts.

Such are the actual grades ; but—as in all Orders—there is likewise the Novitiate stage. This is not a grade, but a state of probation, deciding first a candidate's fitness to enter the Society at all ; secondly, in what capacity he should enter—as Lay-brother or Scholastic (that is, as laic or priest). The Novice must be born in wedlock, and, as a rule, must not be an only son ; an only son Ignatius was loth to receive. He must not for even a day have worn the habit of any other Order, or have professed heretical doctrine ; he must not be engaged in marriage or bound by any sort of obligation ; he must have no deformity or in-

capacity of body or mind, no evil temper or nature (though the Saint exercised discrimination here, as is shown by his admission of Ribadeneira). The neophyte must not be less than fifteen or more than fifty—a wide enough latitude. His relations were considered, and whether he had been moved to enter by friendship with any member of the Society—in which case he was assigned a longer period of consideration before beginning the Novitiate, since his motive was in some measure suspect. He was warned of the necessity for entire devotion to God. It was demanded of him if he were willing that his shortcomings should be noted by his fellows and commented on to his Superiors, and himself to do the like in regard to his comrades at the requirement of his Superiors. Finally, he was asked to receive humbly whatsoever grade should be assigned him.

It is a characteristic matter, demarcating the aim of the new Society from that of such an Order (for instance) as its antithesis, the Franciscan, that Ignatius was specially gratified when the needed tests were successfully passed by youths of the governing class. *Cæteris paribus*, he held, what fitted a man for success in the world, that fitted him also for success in the spiritual life. The new Society was in one sense an aristocratic Order; or, as we should rather say, an intellectual aristocracy, an aristocracy of ability, address, and social management. Ready to sway and preach to the people, as it had already shown, its more special aim was to influence the classes in whose hands lay the active or intellectual control of the world and the world's business. On the whole, existing Orders had more or less ignored these classes, had passed them by as

"the world" *in excelsis*, with which the servants of Christ had neither part nor lot. Received if they hearkened and approached salvation, these had not been specially addressed. Now a Society sought out and attacked the world in its chosen and privileged stronghold. Upon the young scions of nobility who were so markedly attracted by him, Ignatius relied to deal with sovereigns and statesmen, the principalities and powers against whom the standard of Christ was now advanced—not to overthrow but to capture and enlist them.

The Novitiate begins with a month's retreat, during which the Novice passes through the "Spiritual Exercises" and a General Confession. After this, he assumes the habit of the Society. The first Novitiate is for two years. There is a little learning by heart each day, to train the memory, but no secular study. Novices teach the elements of Christian doctrine to children and the poor, serve in the hospital for a month, go on a pilgrimage for another month, living on charity during the journey. The authorities of the hospital or the pilgrimage report on their behaviour. When approved Scholastics they pass to another House, where they begin the prescribed course of study, modified at the discretion of the Superior, according to individual character. By the Saint's new plan, they were first thoroughly trained in classics and languages. Afterwards they took rhetoric, poetry, and philosophy, besides theology and Scripture. Nor did Ignatius ever cease to say *Open Sesame* to literature. Careful examination preceded the taking up of a new study. There was a *caveat* that only the most sanctioned authors, the safest teaching, should be adopted in all subjects;

and in regard to the Scriptural writings, the scholars were not merely to be taught exegesis, but also the defence of the text authorised by the Church.

The strict system thus laid down for the students was a reaction from the irregularity which had sterilised Ignatius's own first efforts at study ; and his early experience, again, suggested the limitation of his scholars to the appointed hours of prayer, and the prohibition of outside employment, which might distract them from study. To a like cause was due the enforcement of sanctioned authors. He conceived himself in those Spanish days of study to have been adversely affected by the reading of Erasmus. On the side of needful indulgence, these Scholastics were given seven hours of sleep ; their studies were confined to a couple of hours at a time ; they were allowed recreation-days, and each week had a country excursion to assigned places where they spent a certain number of hours. By a peculiar regulation the scholars kept their own property during this period, and it was administered for their subsistence by their Superiors. If they left the Society, the balance was returned to them on their departure. This was to avert the necessity of their seeking alms, which would have interrupted the concentration of mind on study. But it should be noted that Ignatius did not extend to the Collegiate Houses the rule which forbade the Jesuit convents to receive endowments.

The Scholastics had, of course, fixed hours of prayer ; they had examination of conscience twice a day, and weekly Communion ; they made the "Spiritual Exercises" once a year. Twice a year they had three days' retreat, disclosed their spiritual

state to their Superior, and made a confession covering the previous six months, after which they renewed their vows. The Superiors strictly watched their conduct and advance, both scholastic and spiritual: those whose studies were unsatisfactory, the Rector either relegated (with their consent) to the Temporal Coadjutors (the Lay-brethren) or dismissed altogether.

Ten years or over these studies lasted. Then, before passing to the work of the Society, the young Jesuit reverted for a year to the pure spirituality of his early Novitiate. This was the "third year of the Novitiate," the year *in schola affectus*, "in the school of the heart." After this long sojourn in the waterless regions of the arid intellect, his heart was to be moistened by the revivifying dews of quiet and unperrurbed prayer, by human work among the lowliest of his brethren, labouring for Christ among children and peasants.

Such was the unsparing training of the Scholastic. The pick of these chosen men passed into the ranks of the Professed. Those less favoured by gifts might still be used, though (as we have seen) they did not take the fourth vow. The three first vows of the Professed bound them to poverty, chastity, obedience, and (as a corollary of the last vow) particularly to the instruction of children. The fourth vow bound them to missionary service at the bidding of the Pope, without obstruction of their personal will in the matter of that service It was that last and missionary vow from which all but the complete Professed were excluded; because only they were engaged in missionary work and preaching. The Professed Houses, as we have said, could have no endowments, but were to depend

entirely on alms: the Professed bound themselves against any alteration of this rule, unless in the direction of greater stringency. They should normally have no contribution-box in their churches, no Mass offerings or stipends for spiritual work. Every member must, if ordered, undertake the quest of alms. All, in accordance with the fourth vow, must be ready at a moment's notice to set forth on mission work, and without money. They must seek no advancement within the Order, nor accept any dignity without. They are bound to inform concerning any who violate this rule. This rigid refusal of dignities and absence of endowments were among their most striking distinctions in the sixteenth century, when the laxity and rich endowments of the Religious Orders—as even our own history teaches—gave specious pretext for spoliation, and special temptation to the spoiler. The four solemn vows of the Professed bound so irrevocably that they could not be annulled even by the General: he had to gain the Papal assent before he could dismiss one of this grade from the Society.

From the ranks of the Professed the General was chosen, by the convoked representatives of the Society. He in his turn had sole authority to nominate Provincials, Superiors of the Professed, and Rectors of colleges. He was bound to live in Rome, nor to be long absent thence: but by weekly letters (or as nearly weekly as might be) from his subordinate authorities he was kept in touch with matters provincial, and even with the minutiæ affecting individual members. The Provincials, moreover, were to forward yearly reports to Rome: while every three years a deputy, chosen by the provincial

Congregation, must bear to Rome the catalogue of each Province containing the name, age, gifts, and qualities of all its members. In nominating a member to any office, three people are severally entrusted with the collection of information concerning him, to aid the General in his decision.

But the General is not without aid or check. The Congregation of the Society chooses along with the General, and also from the ranks of the Professed, Assistants representing the several nationalities, who act as agents and intermediaries with him in the affairs of those nationalities, whose business they execute under his supervision. The Congregation further elects a Companion, who conveys to the General any strictures which the Assistants may judge necessary on his government, acting—one might say—as a sort of super-conscience. All these are watchers, as well as counsellors of the General, and may even in emergency depose him, whether by summoning a Congregation or of their own act. In the latter case, they must first obtain the votes of the Provinces, written or oral, before taking action. Such procedure, of course, presupposes some grave and extraordinary scandal, personal or administrative. A similar body, it may be noted, surrounds the several Provincials, in the shape of four consultors and a companion or admonisher.

Ignatius specially inculcated the twin spirit of fraternity and obedience. Superiors were to be reverenced as representing the authority of the Divine Fatherhood, and trusted as representing its tenderness. Hence the lowliest member might fearlessly write to the General, if he wished and thought it necessary, trusting in his privilege of paternal audience. On the other hand, every

Superior should be regarded with no less respect than the General himself. The members were to look on each other as brethren, vie with each other only in charity and good works, and extend a special benevolence to strangers. They were to observe one rule, modified as little as might be by differences of nation and climate; and each House was to speak the common language of the country in which it was established. Lastly, prompt dismissal might fall on such as broke the Society's rules, failed in its works, or above all failed in its spirit. Outside the Professed, the vows of such members were annulled, and they were free to take up secular business: their dismissal was to be effected with every care for their reputation, that it might not injure their after-careers. As already mentioned, any moneys they had brought to the Society were restored.

The Congregation of the Society has been frequently mentioned. It comprises two delegates from each Province, who are chosen by the Professed and the several Provincials. It meets to elect the General with his assistants, and may also be convoked for extraordinary need, besides having legislative function within the bounds laid down by the Society.

Ignatius divided his Constitutions into ten parts. The first concerned the admission, the second the rejection, of Novices; the third and fourth, health, devotions and studies; the fifth, the several grades from the four vows downward; the sixth and seventh, the duties of the Professed and Spiritual Coadjutors; the eighth and ninth, the General; the tenth, the preservation and progress of the Society. But the Constitutions were not completed at once; they were growing under his hand all his life, and

till shortly before his death, passing through emendation and addition, with sedulous consultation of his brethren. Moreover (as in the case of the Franciscans), though the Constitutions proper have never been touched, the elaborate book of the complete Institute did not take its present shape till later. But Ignatius, like Francis, laid the foundations on which the subsequent structure arose. The subsequent changes or additions have doubtless been in the direction of more authority for rule and greater elaboration of directions: the Ignatian was a more individualistic and elastic Society. Such is the case in the earlier stage of most societies, while the first fervour is still in many ways a law unto itself, and the full possession of interior law makes superfluous the multiplication of external provisions. Such was paramountly the case with Christianity itself. Ignatius himself claimed for his Constitutions finality only "so far as differences of time, place, and circumstances permit"; and the Congregations are suffered to introduce modifications, but not the General alone. He wrote this memorable work in Spanish, constant as ever to his native tongue, and his secretary Polanco translated it into Latin.

OUR LADY OF SORROWS: A PICTURE IGNATIUS CARRIED ABOUT HIM

We can scarcely realise now how much of the

Jesuit aim was novel in the sixteenth century. For example, it comes upon one with surprise that ministry in hospitals and prisons had never been a special duty with any previous Order—which does not mean that members of previous Orders had not practised it. Nor was any Order bound to foreign missions. But above all, their educational obligations were a new thing. The teaching of children and the poor had no body of men vowed to its performance, and its neglect was among the abuses which drew down the censure of the Council of Trent; while, in gratuitously undertaking the higher education of youth, the Jesuits were absolutely original. In his missionary assault, by preaching and ultimately by writing, upon the people of power and intellect, who were the brain and marrow of the anti-Catholic movement, he confronted the present; in his masterly seizure of the school, he confronted the future. He not only confronted, but anticipated it: he tore from the revolt the coming generation, and levied immediate posterity under the Catholic banner. If the coming years prospered a counter-reformation, a sudden return-tide of Catholicism which swept back and swamped the Renascence, that counter-movement was prepared in the Jesuit schools.

CHAPTER X

WHILE the foundations of the Society were thus being securely laid in Rome, another mission had gone forth from it, besides the great Indian mission and the Spanish mission already named. This was a brief affair, and, in the common course, thought unsuccessful; but it deserves a word of mention if only because of its concern with our own islands.

It was a mission to Ireland. Ireland was now bent beneath the first furious blast of the English Reformation: the arm of Henry VIII. and his terrible Minister, Cromwell, had been stretched forth ruthlessly across the narrow seas: all clergy who refused the royal supremacy in religion were driven to flight or hiding; Mass and the Sacraments were become penal; the nobility as a whole had bowed to the King, and the blind Wauchop, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, was an exile in Rome. An emissary from the stricken country (Raymond, conjectured to have been Redmond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Killala) besought ecclesiastical aid for the wretched priesthood and people. The Archbishop of Armagh, in 1541, the first year of Ignatius's Generalship, added his voice, and asked Pope Paul to send a Jesuit with power to grant dispensations, give the Sacraments, and sustain the persecuted Catholics. Broët and Salmeron were chosen, after a delay caused by the death of Codure, who had first been named in Broët's place. They were sent with the full powers of Papal Nuncios. It was originally designed they should travel without money, after the customary

Jesuit fashion; but a young noble, Francisco Zapata, who had long desired to join the Society, gained leave to finance and join the mission. It was well, indeed, that Zapata was inspired to start his Novitiate in this new and striking fashion, for the country was in no position to support even the frugal Jesuit Nuncios, as the result painfully proved. The Saint gave them marching instructions, most admirable examples of the Pauline sagacity which made him and his great pupil, Xavier, irresistible in the winning of men. Thus he enjoins:

"In order to make acquaintance with great persons, and to gain their affection for the greater glory of God, Our Lord, first study their character, and act accordingly. If, for example, a man be of a hasty temper and speaks rapidly and much, then assume with him something of a familiar tone, adopt his way, but let it be about things good and holy, and be not too serious, or reserved, or melancholy. But with those of a more phlegmatic character, who are slow of speech, grave and measured in discourse, adopt a manner similar to theirs; this is sure to propitiate them. 'I make myself all things to all men.'"

But, says the Saint, if a man be "tempted and melancholy," then in order to edify and console him "it is desirable to adopt a disposition contrary to his own." You should then "be kind and good, converse much with him, and show him both at home and abroad much complaisance and cheerfulness." One remembers Ignatius's own dancing of the Basque dance in order to cheer Ortiz. Knowing Salmeron's quick temper, he gives a special caution on the necessity of such a

character's approaching any disputatious conference with a careful predetermination to avoid quarrel and suppress irritation. Of all which wise counsels the only thing to be said is that few men have the adaptability of character effectually to follow them. Yet that Jesuit discipline did in some measure supply for any defect of that native gift, we have the singular successes of Jesuit diplomacy to prove.

The three missioners reached Ireland by way of Scotland. At Stirling Castle they saw the Scottish King, who promised fidelity to the Pope against the influence of Henry VIII., and gave them commendatory letters to the people of his isles. They reached Ireland in the beginning of Lent, 1542. They landed in disguise, and their progress through the island was a stealthy progress; for not only were they in danger themselves, but they brought deadly risk on any who should be convicted of harbouring them. Save one, all the chiefs had submitted to Henry, and were sworn to hand over to him any recalcitrant priest or Roman emissary who should fall into their power. So much was this the case that they found the Irish terrified at their coming: they had to sleep under a fresh roof every night, lest they should draw discovery and punishment on those who sheltered them, and it was only by slow degrees that the cowed people took heart of grace. But the new Jesuit fervour presently warmed and animated the abandoned people: the priesthood, hunted down and decimated, in particular found courage and hope from their ministrations and exhortations. In thirty-four days they completed their covert visitation of hapless Ireland, going through the entire country. But death was on their track; the Viceroy knew

STIRLING CASTLE, WHERE KING JAMES V HELD COURT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE JESUITS' VISIT

of their coming, and set a price upon their heads, a writ of confiscation and death on their harbourers. Back to Scotland they needs must go, and here too was no stay for them; Henry had stirred disaffection and revolt throughout the land, the shadow of the coming Scottish Reformation was already deepening over it. They retreated to Paris, where they found a Papal commission to transfer their Nunciature to Scotland. But the order was quickly rescinded when Paul learned the state of that country, and they pursued their way to Rome—not without trouble, including temporary arrest, caused by fresh war between France and the Emperor.

In Rome the blind Archbishop of Armagh was moved by their story to revisit his stricken country. But the Pope intervened, and he passed into Germany, to assist at the Council of Trent and finally die in exile at Lyons, in a Jesuit college. The mission was seemingly a failure; but who shall say what part it may not have played in heartening the Irish to that stubborn resistance which preserved Irish Catholicism for after-ages? Zapata's Jesuit career, one is sorry to learn, was a failure indeed. After finishing his studies at Paris, where he stayed while his companions went on to Rome, he returned to the novitiate in the Papal city. But he jeered at Nadal for preaching in the mountebank-frequented space of Monte de' Banchi; and Ignatius summoned him from bed to leave the house and the Society at dawn.

Broët and Salmeron, on their return, were sent to carry the Jesuit crusade through various Italian towns. Strada had already been successfully evangelising Montepulciano; and Broët continued his work on his way to Foligno, whither his

ISLAND OF IONA : VISITED BY JESUITS IN 1542

companion and himself were now despatched. They were most successful at Foligno among the relaxed clergy and convents. It was not only in piety that the clergy needed reform ; the Jesuits found scope among them for their abilities as schoolmasters. Then Salmeron went on to bitter contest with religious revolt at Modena ; while Broët, reforming by the way a nunnery at Reggio, attacked the equivocal Bernardino Ochino in his stronghold at Faenza. As in the days of the Albigenses, austerity and zealous eloquence were on the side of the heretic, laxity and luxury on the side of the orthodox clergy. Nor had Ochino as yet openly broken with the Church. Broët opposed him by charity to the destitute no less than by instruction to the ignorant, drawing his resources from the rich whom he gained ; and only when he had prepared his ground did he proceed to dispute. But his chief success was with the influential and educated class. One fruit of his labours was a Sodality for aiding the poor with food and medicines, having its own physician and its lawyer to undertake the causes of the wronged poor. He healed enmities and family feuds—always the curse of Italy ; and among the schools of the young, that special Jesuit field, he had two years' richly rewarded labours.

All this concerns the sons, rather than the Father ; and, in fact, henceforward the life of Ignatius becomes mainly the life of his Order. He had come into the world, first to sanctify his own soul, secondly to create that Order ; and with its establishment the period of storm and stress, in which he had stood forth as its active protagonist, was at an end. It was the feeling of this that urged him to desire a retirement, wherein he might

devote himself to that primal end of self-sanctification which now seemed to him the only one left. But he was to keep the task of ruling what he had founded; and, as ruler, he sunk his own personality in the energies he inspired and directed. As we are aware of the brain only through the acts of the members, and the words of the mouth, so the manifested achievements of Ignatius during this latter portion of his career are the achievements of his children, his Society. But behind the illustrious and more than European record we are aware, invisibly, of a brain, a heart energising and co-ordinating all; and that brain, that heart, is Ignatius. Only thrice he interrupted his central administrative life by distinctively personal action: to confer with Paul III. at Montefiascone concerning the Portuguese Inquisition; to reconcile the warring townships of Tivoli and Castel Madama; and to reconcile Ascanio Colonna with Juana de Aragon his wife, sister-in-law of Vittoria Colonna. On this last occasion it rained so heavily (and it does rain, when rain it does, in "sunny Italy") that his companion, Polanco, entreated him to think of himself—and perhaps Polanco—and delay the journey.

"It is thirty years since I put off anything I undertook in God's service, happen what might," he answered; and they went.

If this was characteristic of his energy, a minor incident connected with the Jesuit establishment at Tivoli, the town whose feud with Castel Madama he staunched, is no less characteristic of his justice. The Bishop was angered by his nephew's joining the Society. So a dispute on privilege broke out between him and Navarro, the Rector of the Jesuit

College at Tivoli. Ignatius, supporting his subordinate in the affair, nevertheless rebuked him severely for not observing humility in the defence of his privileges.

But while Ignatius remains thus in the Roman centre of action, obscured behind the great and widely ramifying affairs he controlled, his own personal life pursued its quiet and patient daily course, undeflected by these affairs. Let us, then, once for all survey what is known of that unambitious routine which made so much of his existence, and bears the stamp of his nature.

Each day he said Office, till dispensed therefrom by Paul III. at the suggestion of some among the brethren. The reason was one possible only in the case of a Saint—lest he should injure his eyes by his tears. Each morning he made an hour's first meditation, and said Mass—with such emotion that it took him another hour. But, with his usual impersonal common sense, he said that half an hour was enough for most priests; and the Faithful of the Farm Streets of those days were found to prefer that their priest were not a Saint in this particular. Then, after Mass, he meditated by himself for two hours, his favourite practice being to kneel by a small window in his room whence he could see the tabernacle of Santa Maria della Strada; and at these times his face was seen to be irradiated. Afterwards he went out on business with his beloved Ribadeneira or another, or in the absence of such business was at home to callers. He dined with the Community at noon, and then retired to another chamber for the recreation hour. The brother who waited at table set out an hour-glass, and they talked of their affairs, each Father having

a note of the matters he wished to bring forward. Ignatius needed no such aid: on the contrary, his excellent memory—the memory which has always characterised the great active leaders of men, whether generals, statesmen, or Saints—enabled him to suggest and rectify the omissions of other speakers. He controlled the discussion, and inquired of each what he had to put forward. The glass ran out, and he left the room, dealing with correspondence, and dictating to his secretary. Many letters he wrote himself, copying a letter three or four times sooner than risk error. After supper he received the reports for the day of his subordinate authorities in the House, and issued his instructions. The infirmarian he questioned particularly, regarding the sick as his special charge After this he conversed with his secretary, and then paced his room, leaning on a stick, sometimes praying audibly. He slept only four hours—a fact which implies a marvellous vitality. Even then, the brother who occupied the next room often heard groans and blows: it was believed he sustained diabolical attacks. But the brother going to inquire was forbidden to repeat his visit, nor did Ignatius vouchsafe other comment or answer.

His care of the sick was most tender. A patient had been ordered soft skins to enwrap him: the infirmarian acknowledged they had not been procured. He was despatched at night, with a couple of comrades, to get them. When another patient lacked a doctor, and it was midnight, infirmarian and steward were sent to summon him—ordered not to return without him. They did not disobey, though, to catch their man, they had to wait in a hospital till day. The Saint not only visited, but

watched the sick during the night, if their illness were serious. To Fathers who were sick in his absence he wrote encouraging letters—one is preserved on the wall of his room in Rome. God, he said, had afflicted him with so much illness that he might sympathise with it in others. A Father laughingly repeated the words of a delirious brother: Ignatius was severely vexed with him. He sold pewter plates and dishes, even the bed-coverings, to buy food ordered for the sick; and when, delicacies being prescribed for a prostrate brother, there were but three small coins in the hands of the steward, "Spend them on the sick man," said he; "we will dine on bread." The Community must beg in the streets, he ordered, or reduce their numbers, but the doctor's orders concerning the treatment of the sick must be rigidly carried out. The Rector of Ravenna College he menaced to remove for slack care of the sick: he sent Novices to cheer by singing a patient suffering from deep melancholy. The remedy was potent with himself; but for that very reason, esteeming it a self-indulgence, he seldom would suffer himself the advantage of it. Such nothings in themselves go to illustrate the attitude of the Saint, or, what is quite as much to the point, the attitude of his contemporaries towards him.

Going abroad with his companion, he wore a sombrero and the ecclesiastical cloak yet used in Spain: his lowered eyes he lifted not to a woman when she spoke to him. The wounded leg of Pamplona, always painful to the touch, made him limp somewhat, though he tried to hide the limp; and, save when he raised his hand in salute, nothing was to be seen but his face. That was quiet and

grave ; but those who saw him in old age averred that it seemed to them divine in conversation. To the last he retained the extraordinary power and control of his eyes, when the downcast glance was lifted to those who spoke with him. His dress was now neat, and he specially enjoined neatness on his followers, without departing from the homeliness proper to their poverty. They were to follow the dress of the place where they lived, avoiding singularity. But, provided the garb were clean and tidy, he so inculcated poverty that Lainez and Salmeron appeared even before the Council of Trent in patched clothes.

In his manner he practised the rules he gave to the Irish missioners, opening talk with every one according to his profession and interests, then adroitly turning the conversation to higher things. His aristocratic courtesy, his gentleness and urbanity, were irresistibly ingratiating ; while his sagacity in temporal matters caused Diego Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to say that his master's affairs always went well when he himself followed Ignatius's counsel, ill when he neglected it. So notorious was this that he made a resolution against giving advice on such matters, even to his kinsfolk ; or he would have been universally resorted to. And, despite his care for his subjects, he was severe on self-seeking. His beloved Bobadilla asked a larger room : prepare, he was answered, to lodge two more with him ! A priest who showed impatience and petulance in illness was sent into exile on his recovery ; and only by long and patient zeal did he finally wrest from Ignatius an assurance that he still belonged to the Society. So severely did he inculcate poverty that

he was angered if a Jesuit took an apple from the garden, or even picked it from the ground; he must not so much as pluck a flower. Nay, he was to confess this fault of acquisitiveness before any other sin.

Yet he was so far from arbitrary, that he discussed all measures with his brethren; and even then enjoined them to sleep on the matter, and pray the next morning before decision. His words were so deliberative that his disciples said they were like laws: "To see and hear Father Ignatius is like reading a chapter in the *Imitation of Christ*," said Gonçalez. The military idea which so prominently influenced the conception of his Company he seems to have carried also into his Generalship; or, rather, it was in the soldierly nature of the man. Like a military general, he was reticent and sparing of speech—

> "Alike reserved to blame or to commend,"

in Pope's words; though not of him could it be added:

> "A timorous foe and a suspicious friend."

He was firm of friendship, but undemonstrative in its expression; indeed, he carried out in himself that prohibition of particular friendships which he strictly imposed on his followers, and where he loved most was like to give least shows of love. Love was to be diffused over all, without distinction of favour, much less of favouritism. He so hated detraction that he sought to find some softening of all blame he heard pronounced on others, and we are told "the interpretations of Ignatius" became proverbial among his brethren. Where he could

find no palliation, "Truly I would not have done it" was his harshest sentence. He betook him to the confessional, because in some needful comment on a brother's passing fault he spoke to three when two alone were enough for his purpose. His speech was direct, brief, and unadorned; he preferred to be a listener rather than a talker, and he was pithy, so also was not discursive—a defect his strong mind disliked in others. He was so conscientiously accurate that Gonçalez declared that he once repeated a story after a lapse of years without variation of detail or almost of words. His scrupulosity as to letter-writing we have already noted. He would have his disciples reserve private matters to a postscript and a separate sheet, bestowing extreme care on the body of the letter, which was for the public eye. Bobadilla told him he had no time for such meticulousness, which he roundly condemned. Ignatius replied with the gentlest humility, but held to his point. The outspokenness must have been grateful to Ignatius, who hated secrecy, ambiguity, or cunning.

No less did he hate sloth. Asked for whom he was working, a Lay-brother answered, "For God and His love." "Then," retorted Ignatius, "I assure you if you do no better henceforth I shall penance you soundly. Were you working for men, it might be no great matter to take so small trouble over it; but to work thus carelessly for God holds no excuse." When Lainez said he would gladly take the offer of immediate Heaven, Ignatius declared, "I would elect rather to stay and work on for the glory of God: I am sure he is a generous Master, and would not suffer harm to a soul that had delayed its own fruition of Heaven to increase His

glory here." Again he said, "Whoso would do aught for the glory of God must not be over-wise, nor act only after the measure of his means."

He was, so to speak, for a certain holy rashness. His own charity was so fervid, that he imagined he should suffer more in hell from the blasphemies of the lost than from aught beside. Nor was he less eager to suffer than to do for God. It was with exultation he told Ribadeneira that Christ had promised the Cross should never be lacking to the Order. "If God sends you great sufferings, it is a sign He will make you a great Saint: if you wish Him to make you a great Saint, ask Him to send you great sufferings," was one of his sayings. Where the Society prospered without check, he diagnosed relaxation.

He was not all austerity. He would visit, receive, and talk freely with the friends of the Society, and of his tenderness to sorrow we have already seen something. With himself only he was always austere. He asked a Father, about noontide, how often he had examined himself that day. "Seven times," came the answer. "Only seven times?" His rewards were great but secret, hinted to us rather than revealed. Saying Mass on Christmas Day in the Lateran Basilica, during his early priesthood, he caused a man present to say to Strada, the acolyte: "That priest of yours must have been very wicked, for his conscience smote him so at Mass that he wept all the time." And asked as to his method of prayer, he answered Lainez that in the things of the Lord he was as those who receive rather than those who work. It was Lainez, too, who asked him if it were true he had

an archangel for his guardian. He averted his face with a virginal blush.

This master of asceticism loved the garden, loved the plants and loved the flowers he would not pick. It was in the garden he most walked and contemplated. One who saw him in the country spoke of him as "that Father who is always looking upwards, and talking with God." It was "looking upwards" in the balcony of his study on the nights of summer, that he sat gazing on the stars: it was then Lainez heard him say, "Oh, how earth grows base to me when I look upon heaven."

This man, as we have said, held native kindred with the Raleighs and Sidneys, the poet-soldiers and statesmen of our own sixteenth century. Nay, the like imaginative strain, so scorned of our petty day, inhered in all the lofty souls of that age. It is in the English martyr, bowing his head to the axe of Elizabeth: "Though I shall have a sharp dinner, I trust in Christ I shall have a most sweet supper." It is in his brother-sufferer, pointing at foot of the scaffold to his last sun: "I shall shortly be above yon fellow!" The splendid familiarity of the utterance recalls Falstaff's arrogant terming of the stars "the cinders of the element." Poet, Saint, and Martyrs shared the noble imaginative elevation of their era, in which the spirit of the Goth and the whole once-barbaric West culminated alike for good and evil. Even the Saints of our day speak a less radiant language: and sanctity shows "shorn of its rays" through the black fog of universal utilitarianism, the materiality which men have drawn into the very lungs of their souls.

To the world of this day Ignatius, however worthy of admiration in his practical energy, his

administrative sagacity, on the contemplative side is a "visionary." And the word, in this world's sense, means a man subject to self-wrought hallucinations, a practiser of extravagances, and an encourager of extravagances in others. Yet the true Ignatius, master of the interior life though he was, far from encouraging visions and extravagances, far even from setting store by them, looked on such matters with doubt and reserve. He was at one in this matter with the unchanged mind of the Church, which—even where it accepts them as true—has steadily maintained that visions and ecstasies are accidents, not essentials, of sanctity. Thus, after the Saint's coming to Rome, Father Santa Cruz waxed eloquent to him concerning the "inspiration" of one Maddalena della Croce, a nun, about whose visions and raptures Rome was all agog. Ignatius told him plainly that no Jesuit should say such a thing, or commit himself to such hasty judgment. In effect, the woman was presently brought to heel as dupe or impostor. Nor was he less prompt to censure and silence one of his own priests, who had talked to Novices of visions and extraordinary communications. His wisdom was justified. At one time a number of his subjects, headed by one of the Fathers, were reported to be using private and extra devotions: it proved that when, by the rule, they should have gone bedward, they got together and luxuriated in extraordinary austerities. Ignatius publicly punished the leader and banished him to Naples—not before one excellent student had been nigh driven mad.

So also he kept a check on all excess of fasting or devotion. His firm common sense would have temperance in all things, and he remembered his

own ascetic indiscretions (as he now regarded them) at Manresa. Not less did he profit, in guiding others, by that agony of scruples which had been the final ordeal of his Manresan preparation. A Spanish Lay-brother, who had enfeebled himself by fasting, he bade under holy obedience conform himself to the doctor's regimen in all things, since it was better he should have a due care of himself that he might the longer be fit for God's service. And when a Flemish brother grew so fantastically scrupulous in the saying of his Office as to consume the whole day over it, he bade him take an hour, and leave alone whatsoever he had not then said. He freed the man of his scruples, as in similar fashion he had freed Favre in Paris. Another Lay-brother with a mind diseased by self-distrust, who was tormented by the fear that he would have to quit the Order, "Be sure, Brother John," said the Saint, "if I remain in the Society so will you." He had many ways of combating this special difficulty. One Novice lay awake at night, irritated by a command given him, and revolved departure. Ignatius sent for him, and asked what course he would prescribe for certain temptations—the lad's own. In the talk he glided in suggested remedies, so adroitly and with such insight, into the youth's mind that the Novice abandoned his design. In another of these cases, he told the waverer to quit if he would ; but first, when he waked at night, to lay himself out as on his death-bed, and ask himself how he would wish to have lived when death was at hand. That youth also persevered.

But this patience was only with those in whom he detected the true spirit under their wavering or

apparent recalcitrance. Others he did not wait to have go, but dismissed with a sternness that almost dismayed his brethren. The blow fell suddenly, but it is likely that it had long been meditated, and that Ignatius had reason beyond the apparent provocation (perhaps a long-standing perception of the subject's unfitness): for it was noted that he was apt to be unwontedly cheerful when he had made one of these abrupt riddances. He was known to have dismissed nine at one fell swoop, and ten subsequently. One had but given a playful blow to a comrade—"larking," as we should call it. We must remember that it was to the possession, actual or potential, of the Jesuit spirit Ignatius looked before all things. And part of that spirit was perfect discipline: to the General of the Company of Jesus, as to the General of an army, insubordination was the unpardonable fault. With this martial rigidity went a care that none should be tried beyond his strength: a Japanese who demanded to be tested by difficult injunctions was only indulged after long reluctance, and then with the proviso that he should speak at once if he felt the least fatigue or unwillingness. That reminds us how long ago began the attempted Christianisation of Japan; for this Bernard was sent by Xavier, one of the first-fruits of the labours of the great Founder. Nor were the Japanese the sole Eastern race represented in the Order. At Santa Maria della Strada was a Mohammedan, and at least one Jew. He, too, had designed to leave, before his conversion: but Ignatius only summoned him and said, "Isaac, stay with us." It was enough; he yielded to the fascination so many found irresistible, and he stayed.

While he would not place too heavy burthens on any, Ignatius would have his followers see God in all they did, "for it is most true that the Divine Majesty is present in all things." "The manner of meditation which sees God in everything," he said, "is more easy than that other which elevates the mind to Divine objects." With this, he insisted on humility "Humility is truth." It was merely a grasping of our veritable relation towards God. To attain it, his maxim was: "Hate what the world seeks, and seek what it avoids." Not only did he frown on the seeking of visions; he averred prayer itself to be a danger, lest it foster a conceit of spirituality. He would not therefore have prayer used the less, but self-abnegation, humility, charity, cultivated the more.

When Nadal would have had more hours for prayer in the rules of the Order, "It needs much prayer," said Ignatius, "to conquer the passions, but the victory gained, a quarter of an hour will serve to consociate intimately the soul with God, when the unmortified soul would scarce arrive at it in two hours." This quite accorded with his "Do all to the glory of God," as well as with his insistence on the spirit of the maxim, *laborare est orare*. Not less than Carlyle, he upheld the holiness of worthy work. And not less than a military commander, he valued, for his subjects, men of action, or at least of energy. He did not deem that grace superseded nature, that a *fainéant* was more valuable in religion than out of it. A laggard and weakling might by God's grace save himself, but was scarce like to save others. There was place and scope in the Company for the gentle and docile, as for all tempers, provided that they

were mated with zeal; but the Saint's own gallant spirit favoured the gallant—not from favour, but from wisdom. In so choosing, he but chose others as his Master had chosen him, with a like wisdom and a like cause. He would have cried with Danton, "*De l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace.*" His love and patience towards the fiery Ribadeneira he repeated towards all the hot and daring. He vowed his predilection for these sons of flame, and justified his special, his extreme patience with them—a patience he was not wont to show towards any taint of insubordination. Such hotspurs had a sterner task than others in self-mastery, he said; but, once successful, there was more mettle in them, and they would do greater things for God. Of two Lay-brothers contrasting in temperament, he cheered the one swift to anger, rather than the other who needed no heartening. Another such, who shunned his fellows to avoid provocation, he rebuked: "You are wrong," said he, "these temptations should be fought, not fled; solitude can but hide, not heal, your irritability; you will please God more by mastering this chafing than by shutting yourself in a cave for a year." Again, between passion and sullenness under rebuke, it was the sullen who got his *congé* from the Society. Of yet another hotspur, like Ribadeneira destined to eminence (Edmond Auger), Ignatius said he had acquired more solid holiness during his Novitiate than had two contemporaries of gentle temper.

The same saintly common sense (for high sanctity, like high genius, contrary to the vulgar notion, is eminently common-sensible) which made him cautious of visions, even of prayer, and an empha-

tiser of practical virtues, a lover of active energy, caused this great ascetic to set a practical if regulated value on good appetite and its concomitant, good spirits. He did not actually say "Laugh and grow fat" (the maxim popularly imputed to monks), but he did say "Laugh and grow strong." The man whose own hue had paled, and his cheek grown lank in the cave of Manresa, called up a disciple conspicuously relishing his dinner, not to rebuke, but to bid him "continue to nourish himself well, and grow strong to serve God and our Society." So, too, he met Flemish Francis Coster in the street: "Francis, I see you are always laughing." "Now for it!" thinks poor Francis, a cheery new-comer. But no. Ignatius goes on: "I am glad of it; and while you are docile and faithful to your rule, I do not think you can be too gay. But remember, you must not be depressed by things that do not please you. I think I see in you the possessor of talents above the common; but if they are not of use because you lack humility, you will be sad." He proceeds to say he is sending Francis to Sicily for his health's sake, though the youth might prefer his native Flanders; and warns him not to let such thwarted preference sadden him. "Therefore keep yourself humble, that you may always rejoice." So, one remembers, Saint Francis of Assisi bade his "*jongleurs* of God" leave sadness to the devil and *his* disciples.

The same spirit of healthy practicality and common sense in Ignatius which encouraged holy cheer and (if we may so say) an unexaggerated relish for the good cheer of food, showed itself in the matter even of dress. His relative, Antonio

Araoz, he made to keep his smart garments during his Novitiate ; and the same he did with two others. It might be that his insight discerned in it a subtle means of mortification : but it is quite in accord with his habit of calling aristocratic members of the Order by their titles, and treating them with the etiquette due to their rank, until they asked him to discontinue the distinction. His care that the students should have healthful air and exercise has already been noted ; but his strong sense was evinced in a way much more alien to the manners of his time and (perhaps we may add) of his country. Even to-day Italy does not impress the Anglo-Saxon by the minor cleanliness which his national proverb exalts as next to godliness ; and the earlier ages in general shared our own Johnson's lack of passion for these matters. But Ignatius agreed with his friend, Philip Neri, in laying stress on such things. The Novice-master, a true child of the time, once reported a Novice to him for the shocking foppery of frequently washing the hands, but the Saint gave him cold comfort. He was to watch for any tokens of vanity in other ways, but not to rebuke the youth for this extraordinary inclination to cold water.

He insisted on a variation of duties—doubtless wishing to prevent his subjects from falling into a groove ; and one story would seem to hint that, beyond this aim, he had a conception of that all-round culture on which modern teachers have relied. His own early habits and history would impress on him its advantages. Anyway, he once asked a Novice, taking his turn in the kitchen, if he could write him a copy of verses ? It must have seemed to the lad an odd demand from his Saintly

Father ; but in true Jesuit spirit he had answered that he could try, and (with more courtesy perhaps than discretion) produced some flattering verses addressed to Ignatius himself. He was asked if the lines described a Saint, and whether he really thought Ignatius to possess all the virtues set forth ? With a quickness that modern criticism would consider eminently Jesuitical, and which certainly showed him no fool, the Novice rejoined he knew nothing of that, but he knew that Ignatius ought to possess them.

The dignified Spaniard, native to a land of hidalgos, had other affinities with our northern notions besides his strong common sense and his love of cleanliness. Alone, probably, in that impulsive Southland, he disliked the universal continental habit (was it then so universal, one wonders ?) of the kiss between men. It may perhaps have been an ascetic objection, extending only to his Religious subjects, rather than a general dislike ; but it seems so harmonious with his character at large that one is inclined to think it temperamental. He would admit it only when his Jesuits started on, or met after, a long absence caused by travel. Nay, he even reproved a Father for patting a boy on the head—an old Father into the bargain ! That is certainly extreme even for our cold northern notions, and clearly ascetic in its inspiration. This same eleven-year-old boy was brought on holidays by his schoolmaster to kiss Ignatius's hand ; and a story is told about one such visit which reads as if it were from the life of the Saint's friend, Philip Neri. The lad came in holiday dress, with a fine purple band about his collar—doubtless an exultingly delightful purple

band to its possessor! "Where is Jacopino?" asked the Saint. Poor good little Jacopo retired and returned in his daily sobriety of plumage, to be welcomed with a quiet smile and ready hand. Yet that he himself sometimes caressed the lads who visited him, we have assurance from two of them.

Moreover, we find that he had a habit—say rather a policy—of keeping his Jesuit youth in equilibrium between the heat and ice of a two-fold treatment; and liked to maintain the gentle paternal attitude as his own privilege. It was only in accord with his system of gaining an open and unchecked confidence from the young Religious: others had to take the thankless office of severity. Nothing is more notable in the sagacity, at once iron and flexible, of his system with the initiate young, than his resolved maintenance of them between the alternating winds of North and South. Of the two Superiors in the several Colleges, one was often instructed to manage the students with all benevolence, the other with austere inflexibility; so that they oscillated between love and rigid law. In his own Roman House, as we have said, sweetness was his monopoly; the iron part was for the unhappy Master of Novices. Whence this dialogue between a bright young Spanish Novice and Luis Gonçalez, his Master, who was exercising towards him a special and bidden severity. Gonçalez expounded to him that Jesuit piety was like a wooden beam, which could only be trusted when it had been tried by heavy burthens. "Alack," quoth poor Gaspar Loarte, "I perceive I must make me ready for more austerities." Yet another time, when he was asked his mind concerning

Ignatius, "He is like a fountain of oil," said Gaspar. "And what of me?" questioned Gonçalez. Answered Gaspar: "You are like a fountain of vinegar." Which brought some abatement of the vinegar from Ignatius, quick to appreciate the pleasantry, and the good humour under trial that inspired it.

His devices with individual neophytes were various as their own characters, ranging from penetrating wisdom to that seeming childishness which may almost be called a monastic tradition, and is peculiarly trying to the sympathies of the outsider. A wealthy young man had in his cell a handsome crucifix, of which he was particularly fond. For that reason, and the Jesuit rule against private property, the natural expectation would have been that he should at once have to surrender it. But Ignatius took no seeming heed, until the youth had made large advance in detachment. Then he said: "Since our brother has learned self-renunciation, and has the image of the crucified Christ in his heart, we may take it from his hands." He judged well: the young man was no longer reluctant. Yet this same subtle trainer made a Novice, who kept a slovenly room, cram all his movables into a sack and bear it slung over shoulder through the house, proclaiming to all comers his fault. Or he would draw a circle, magician-wise, round a culprit, leaving him to sit within (if he could) till he was released; or, again, send him to pray for a given space before the Blessed Sacrament—sometimes to pray till he was recalled, when (with pious but slightly sardonic humour) he would subjoin, "Pray that I may not forget you." There is in that a certain (may we say?) celestial trace of the grim

military jest, such as would have sprung to the lips of Calderon's Figueroa, gunpowder veteran of the Italian wars. Intermittently one is reminded that in Ignatius a great soldier was lost to Spain. But it was in an unequivocal vein of comedy that he set a Novice charged with presumption in the midst of the refectory, flying a pair of "property" wings at his shoulders, while a companion warned him against trying to fly before his wings were grown. Somewhat more trying was the fate of the youth who was bidden take his seat at the lower table, where a chosen tormentor made him the butt of his jeers and upbraidings for lack of advancement in the religious life. To us, nevertheless, these inflictions seem so like the forfeits at a Christmas game that we can scarce conceive them serious as a penance. But the likelihood is that keen-eyed Ignatius knew well what he was doing; that they were astutely apportioned to special types of character, confident and reliant on their own common-sense intelligence, for whom the triviality of the penance would not be its least trying feature. It is not unknown for such "absurd" penances or trials of obedience to find the weak side of modern Novices.

Once only do we find recorded of him that he imposed a penance which (apart from the offence) might be called cruel. A young Jewish Novice in a fit of passion uttered against a comrade the malignant wish—"May you have a cancer!" The word *canchero* in Italian means also a crab; and Ignatius, thoroughly indignant, bade them fasten a little crab to the back of the lad's neck. As the claws nipped him, the Saint said: "It is meet that you should feel pain, who have wished pain to another"; but when the lad cried and promised not to repeat the

offence, he was at once released. He was afterwards a Dominican, and, when he became Bishop of Forli, he himself narrated the tale—proud perhaps to have been punished by a Saint. Even in this, Ignatius's end was not the infliction of suffering, but lastingly to imprint on the boy's mind his own abhorrence of malignant cruelty even in desire. It is not necessary to assume that he was always at his best; but this we know—that by such means, by such minute, varied, and patient vigilance, by adapting himself to all minds and tempers, that he might ultimately mould them to his design, by a discipline at once stern and capable of fine adjustment to individual variation, he built up the men who were to carry his Order to the ends of the earth. Yet amidst all this silent and manifold labour as the Superior of the Roman House, he was directing, consolidating, and extending his rapidly growing Society. The methods and judgment which built up the individual Jesuit were in effect those by which he built up the corporate Order. And so, quiet, scarce notable, hidden in the blaze of the great organisation which emanated from him, he remains during the rest of his life. But to the seeing eye it was Ignatius who fought the Reformation in the towns of Germany, Ignatius who helped to sway the decisions of Trent, nay, even in a sense, Ignatius who sailed with Xavier to cast fire upon the coasts of India.

CHAPTER XI

IT was in 1540, the year before Ignatius was elected General, that the Society first set foot in Germany.

Nowhere had its apostles such need to remember his counsel to all his missionaries abroad; to be constantly on their guard, as those who are surrounded by perils and enemies; to fix the soul on God, keeping a quiet and recollected mind, equal alike in prosperity and adversity, sorrow and joy. A Diet (the second) was assembled at Worms, and Charles V. asked of the Pope and Ignatius a Jesuit to accompany thither Ignatius's one-time enemy, Ortiz. He must be consummate both in eloquence and theology; he must have high personal character; and, alike to Paul and Ignatius, none seemed so eligible as Favre. To Worms, therefore, went Favre; and, arrived thither, speedily lost all surprise at the apparition and success of the Reformation, and almost all hope at the prospect of warring with it. If things had seemed ill in Italy, here they were ten-fold worse. On New Year's Day of 1541 he wrote to Ignatius:

"I wonder there are not twice or three times the number of heretics that there are, because nothing leads to errors in belief so rapidly as a disordered life. It is not the false interpretation of Scripture, nor the conspiracies of the Lutherans, that have caused so many countries and so many towns and provinces to revolt against religion. All the mischief is done by the scandalous lives of the clergy. Would there were, in this city of Worms, at least two or three churchmen not living openly

in sin, or guilty of some notorious crime, but who had a little zeal for the salvation of souls. They might do anything they pleased with this simple

Munich Cathedral

people ; I mean in the towns where they have not abolished all the laws and practices of religion, and entirely thrown off obedience to the Apostolic See. But those whose duty it is to lead the faithless into the fold are precisely they who drive the Catholics to become Lutherans by the spectacle of their dissolute lives."

It was not a matter of Indulgences, not a matter of theological subtleties, but a matter of unfulfilled duties and scandalous example: the doctrinal denials of Luther would have found no entrance but for the laxity of the orthodox clergy. It is a terrible indictment, but so, in the main, heresies succeed: they seldom prevail where they are confronted by the living argument of good example. In Worms, Favre could find but one faithful priest to help him—the Dean, who was also Vicar-General and Inquisitor. Despondent at his isolated position, the Dean took new courage from the advent of Favre; and these two unaided men did largely turn the tide in Worms. Favre thus had the distinction of heading the Jesuit forlorn hope against German Lutheranism. The dauntless struggle he inaugurated failed to reconquer Germany for the Church: even the brave spirit of Ignatius's followers must have felt that hopeless from the outset. Yet it was not a failure. It found the Reformation in full flow of seemingly irresistible aggression; it left it checked and rolled back upon the North. The Conquests of the Reformation abated from the moment that the vanguard of Jesuitism bore the banner of Ignatius over the German frontier.

The political effort which Favre had been deputed to accomplish failed, as all political efforts failed, and for the reasons which made all political efforts futile. A Conference was called at Ratisbon, to which the Emperor Charles V. lent the weight and sanction of his own presence: Melanchthon, Butzer, and the most conciliatory of the Lutheran chiefs attended; Cardinal Contarini, most conciliatory and reforming of prelates, represented the

CATHEDRAL AND HOUSE OF THE DIET, WORMS

Pope ; and at first all was smoothness and apparent accord. But the Lutherans soon showed they were not in simple earnest ; Charles had his personal political irons in the fire ; Francis of France intrigued for his own quite opposite ends ; and the business came to grief. Charles held out to the Reformers hopes of a General Council in Germany ; Paul hastened to respond by announcing a General Council to be convoked by himself. The Conference broke up without result, to await the promised Council. Only certain clergy-reforms determined on were to be pursued forthwith.

Favre foresaw the issue, and confined himself to private evangelisation. Numbers of distinguished men attended his ministrations (for preaching was forbidden him) ; but in their names we recognise the nobility of the Spanish Court—including the son of Ignatius's old patron, the Duke of Najera, and Juan, nephew of the last Moorish King of Granada. The Lutheran nobles are conspicuously absent. Then Ortiz was sent back to Spain, and Ignatius ordered Favre to accompany him, sending Bobadilla and Le Jay to replace Favre at Ratisbon. Meanwhile the Emperor himself hurried off on his Algerine expedition, for the sake of which he had played into the hands of the Lutherans and prematurely terminated the Conference, only to meet maritime disaster. Favre was not destined to be long absent from Germany, making but a heavenly raid (so to speak) upon Spain : but in the interim we may follow out the work of those who took his place at Ratisbon.

Bobadilla came tardily. At Innsbruck, whither he moved from Viterbo, where our own Cardinal Pole had employed him, he was seized on by

Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and carried to Vienna. Vienna was even as Germany : he found what Favre had found in Worms—a degenerate clergy, a neglected people. He preached, held

Rathhaus, Scene of the Ratisbon Conference

Latin disputations before Ferdinand, and then turned aside with the Nuncio to Nuremberg. His results do not seem to have been extensive. When the Diet which had drawn thither the Nuncio was over (Diets were numberless in that day of conflict), he was back in Vienna ; and with all his disadvantages had some success. Ferdinand

would even have had him undertake the reform of the monasteries, which is warrant that his labours were not barren. He refused to do so without the authorisation of the Bishops; and Ferdinand named him as his Theologian for yet another of these weary and futile Diets, summoned at Ratisbon in the year 1543. There, at last, he met and joined Le Jay.

Le Jay had been fighting a hard fight against endless obstacles. He knew no German, yet was sent to a city of Germans, whom he could address only in Latin or French. From those authorities who should have been his helpers he had no help. The Bishop was powerless over his flock; the clergy were suspect of favouring the Lutherans, whom they made no effort to resist; the Dean (unlike the Dean who had stood by Favre's side at Worms) was no better than his fellow-priests. The Imperial authority was no aid: Charles, Catholic zealot in Spain, coquetted with heresy in Germany, to the length of affecting a readiness to consider, and perhaps embrace, the new ideas. He was not now present: the tempest had scattered the fleet he launched against Algiers, and had sent him home with loss to Spain, leaving the seas to the Moorish Corsair, Barbarossa. Yet crowds flocked to hear the eloquent Jesuit expound the Epistle to the Galatians—a remarkable proof how men's minds were then occupied by theological questions. Like Favre, he saw that to convert the sheep he must first convert the shepherds, and upon them chiefly he bent his efforts. The clergy responded with violent anger against the intrusive foreigner, and made common cause against him with the Lutherans. He had to

combat heresy allied with those who should themselves have combated heresy. The people were roused

NUREMBERG

against him, and menaced him with the waters of the Danube. "What matters whether I enter Heaven by land or water?" he said, and persisted.

To him came Bobadilla, none too soon; and to hear him, even in the Latin tongue, thronged the Germans and the strangers within their gates. The attacks redoubled their fierceness as it became evident an impression was being made: Le Jay redoubled his activity, and (most practical step, which one wonders had not been considered before) took to studying German, though the poor Frenchman found it "a harsh tongue," and was of a nation not famous as linguists.

Two years of this thankless work at Ratisbon, and Ignatius sent Le Jay to open the attack on yet another German town, Ingolstadt. There he found a footing. The Duke of Bavaria stood strongly behind him. He had restrained his people from reforming Ratisbon. "Sooner would I forfeit my dukedom than give up a man of mine to Luther," he said. Eck was already at Ingolstadt before Le Jay; success awaited him; and the Bishop of Augsburg presently summoned Le Jay to Dillingen, where also he prospered. Thence his ceaseless energy was transferred to Salzburg. A provincial assembly was there afoot, for yet another conference between the conflicting creeds. The Lutherans demanded a National Council, and Le Jay (consulted by the Bishops) had mainly to do with the refusal of their demand. Abortive, like all such conferences, this conference was of some note, since it issued in the prelates commissioning Le Jay to write to Rome, and press on the Pope the convention of the long-promised General Council. The whole Society, headed by Ignatius, united in pressing for the acceleration of the Council; and thus the Jesuits had largely a hand in the convoking of the great Trent assembly

where their delegates were to play so prominent a part.

After this wise the Jesuit advance into Germany began. Favre, who had headed it, meantime was

INGOLSTADT

pursuing his Spanish mission, not long to be uninterrupted. He shared the experience common in those days of intermittent war between the French King and the Emperor, of imprisonment by the French in the castle at Mantua, converted his gaoler, the commanding officer, and, dismissed with honour, visited Saragossa, Medina, Madrid,

Alcala, and many Spanish towns, preaching, catechising, and carrying out the usual work of a Jesuit missioner. He acquired the devotion of the Emperor's two young daughters, Doña Maria and Doña Juana, whom he met at Ocana; and two of their chaplains, Juan de Aragon and Alvaro Alonso, became his companions on his return to Germany, and themselves joined the Society. For Pope Paul III., soon recognising that a man like this was more needed to beat back the Reformation in rough Germany than to secure a comparatively easy conquest of Catholic Spain, called him to retrace his steps. It was in the moment of quitting it that this Spanish journey became memorable. Ignatius had sent into Spain Antonio Araoz, to make known there the nature of the Society and its approbation by the Pope; for this was in the outset of 1542, when Ignatius had scarce been General a year. At Barcelona he met Favre turning back towards Germany. It was Favre's way, when he entered town or province, to ask the aid of its Angel and Patron Saints. The Angel of Barcelona was propitious to his prayer, for he sent him Francis Borgia. Borgia's wife had met Araoz when he called on her husband as Captain-General of Catalonia; she had heard Favre preach; and the result was an invitation to Borgia's table. The reader remembers how the joyful *cortège* of the young Marquis of Lombay passed the ignominious *cortège* of Ignatius on its way to prison, in the old days at Alcala. Francis Borgia, Marquis of Lombay, was son of the Duke of Gandia. Flying with his family when the castle of Gandia was sacked during the war of the Comuneros, he was put under the charge of his uncle, the Arch-

bishop of Saragossa, who gave him an excellent training, and sent him in his youth to the Imperial Court. From childhood he was devout. When he hunted with the Court, it is said he used to turn away his eyes at the moment when the quarry was struck, the boar seized, to lesson himself in restraint; and that when called on to sing he sang only hymns. Whether he sang hymns to Leonora de Castro we are not told. For after long suit, as became a lover of those days, he won the hand of that beautiful and ever-beloved lady. Like Ignatius, he distinguished himself as a soldier, fighting in Lombardy, Provence, and Africa. It was when he was campaigning with the Emperor that Charles sent him with tidings of the war to the Empress Isabella, with whom Leonora and he were special favourites. In the midst of the rejoicings at Toledo the Empress was taken with sudden illness, and in a few days was dead. Francis accompanied her coffin to Granada, and had the duty of verifying the body. Then occurred the incident so often related. The coffin was opened, and he gazed on the fairness he knew so well, in the terrible transformation of decay. The sight so profoundly moved him that he resolved, so soon as duty would suffer him, to forsake the world. But that was not yet to be. The world, on the contrary, seemed to tighten its grip on him. Charles V. made him Viceroy of Catalonia; and he exercised the office with wisdom and conscience, reforming abuses temporal and spiritual, and putting the province in a posture of defence.

To this manner of man it was that Favre came. His wife was worthy of him. Rebuked for the plainness of her dress, she answered: "How should

I value rich raiment when my husband wears a hair-shirt?" But her ill-health was a constant anxiety to Francis; the shadow was over her of that death which was to leave him, a widower, to carry out the design formed at the bier of Isabella. And now had come the man who was to point him the future way. He listened with deep attention to Favre's tale of the Society, its rise, and its Founder. Profoundly attracted both by the story and its narrator, he disclosed his heart to Favre, and his yearning to fulfil that vow made at Granada. For the time it could not be: wife and children, no less than his position, held him back. He would have kept Favre, if he could; but since he could not, he wrote to Ignatius asking for Araoz; and Araoz accordingly remained till the end of the year.

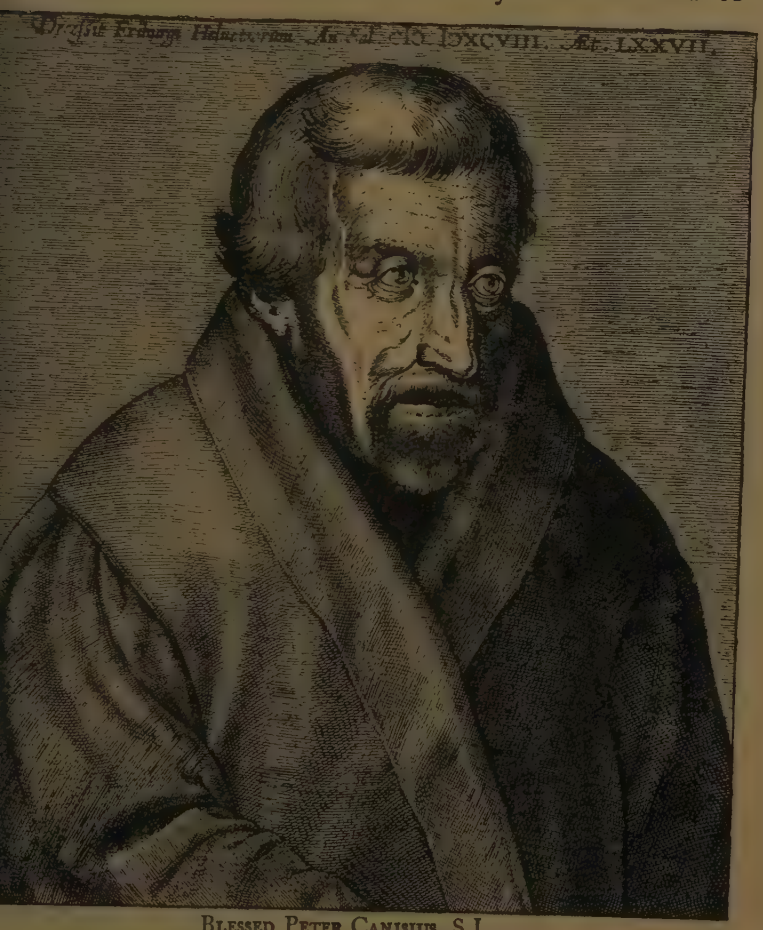
Favre resumed his journey to Spire, having (though he knew it not) captured for the Society one of its chief glories, destined to outshine even himself. He nearly fell into the hands of robbers on the Spanish, and of Lutheran soldiers on the German, border, but apart from these little inconveniences of sixteenth-century travel, came securely into Spire. He found the usual laxity among the clergy; but for once he succeeded with them—by mildness and conciliation—where their bishop, using opposite means, had failed; and he brought the majority back to their duties. Thence he was ordered to Mainz. Again erring clerics, unfaith, the struggle of creeds, the tree judged by its fruits; also a Cardinal Archbishop supine about the Lutherans, but now a penitent Cardinal Archbishop, anxious for Favre's help. This Albert von Brandenburg was a type of the noble ecclesiastic embodied

MAINZ CATHEDRAL: TIME OF IGNATIUS

for all time in Leo the Tenth, the man steeped in the Renascence, more engrossed with the advancement of humanism than the advancement of faith. But now he loyally supported Favre ; and here, too, the Jesuit succeeded in closing up the ranks of Catholicism against the enemy. That task was all but left to the Jesuits at present, for the attempt to call a General Council had failed. Paul had agreed, Trent had been chosen, despite Protestant recalcitrance. Then the Imperial officers executed two French ambassadors who had reached Casale, bent on secret intrigue with Turk and Austrian against Charles V.; Francis declared war anew, the French and Spanish armies were in motion, the Corsair Barbarossa swept the coasts of Italy with his Algerine fleet, took Nice, and Religion once more played second fiddle to the ambition of princes.

But in the breach of the assaulted and distracted Church the Jesuits stood fearless. Even in Germany they were turning the fight which had gone so long against them. At Barcelona, Favre had secured a future Saint for the Society ; at Mainz he made an acquisition only less brilliant. He gained Peter Canisius. Born at Nimeguen in the year that saw Ignatius carried prostrate from the breach of Pamplona, Canisius had for father a man of large property, governor to the sons of the Duke of Lorraine. Rainolda of Arnheim, a relation of the elder Canisius, had foretold that his son would join a Society of Jesus, which would be for the profit of the world and of Germany in particular. The prophecy, made when the little band of founders were taking their vows at Montmartre, had been repeated to the youth ; and now the fame of Favre's Scriptural expositions drew him to

Mainz. He was scarce twenty-four, a distinguished pupil of the illustrious Esch at Cologne University, and Favre's learning and sanctity moved him to



Blessed Peter Canisius, S.J.

y that this was less a man than an angel from eaven. He followed him to Cologne, whence a essage called Peter to the death-bed of his father. e believed himself to have received a revela- on that of a certainty his parents had obtained

salvation, and, in thanksgiving, he divided all his great inheritance among the poor. He returned in poverty to Favre and the Society, bringing with him another recruit, the first-fruits of his eloquence —one of three travel-companions whom he had converted by the way. Himself was to go down to posterity as Blessed Peter Canisius.

Favre, as he told Ignatius, was startled by his own success, a success which almost frightened his humility. A harder task called to him from Cologne, where the Catholics implored his aid against their own Archbishop, Hermann von Wied. This specimen of the German Prince-Bishop, whose aristocracy was his sole qualification for his high place, knowing no Latin, wearing secular dress, imitated the secular princes of Germany not only in manner of life, but in their favour towards Lutheranism. His Archdeacon strove in vain to make him sensible of his duties. The Archdeacon might coerce him into calling a Synod, but could not coerce him into fulfilling its decisions. He took the trouble, for once, to celebrate Mass at Easter, because it gave him an opportunity to administer Communion in both kinds, with a Protestant public absolution. Tyndale had printed his Bible in the city, and the Archbishop brought in the Reformer Butzer to preach. Favre spoke plainly to von Wied, who listened with a politic semblance of agreement. But again Favre was ordered by Ignatius into Spain, King Joam of Portugal desiring him to accompany his daughter Maria into Castile, where her affianced husband, the young Philip of Spain, awaited her. He got no further than Louvain, where he was taken ill, and on his recovery was sent back to Cologne.

Even in illness he was not idle. Twenty students of Louvain offered themselves to the Society, out of whom he selected ten and sent them, by order of Ignatius, to fill the ranks of the new Jesuit college at Coimbra. Back at Cologne, he found its last state worse than its first. The Archbishop had reinforced his Lutheran attack, and Melanchthon, Butzer, and Pistorius were all preaching under his protection. Favre at once offered battle, engaging them in daily and public conferences. He prevailed so greatly that the Emperor was appealed to by large numbers of the citizens to banish the Lutheran preachers, which was done after Favre had held with them a public disputation.

The Divine empowerment admitted, on the human side the secret of Favre's success is writ clear in his own character, and the methods to which his character led him. We remember in his student days that mildness and a certain diffidence had been his note, threatening indeed to alloy the success of his brilliant gifts. The ardent confidence of the Ignatian spirit had fired and inspirited that too-great modesty; but the "conscience and tender heart" remained for good. No better man could Ignatius have chosen to make way with the rough Teuton temper, which met challenge with instant defiance. He understood how to take the line of least resistance—the lesson which Ignatius beat in upon his followers. Charity, respect for adverse prejudices, was the policy that Favre emphasised in writing to Lainez of the true way with Lutherans:

"We should seek their goodwill and confidence by a friendly intercourse, conversing of the matters

on which we are agreed, and shunning altercation. We should teach them first what they ought to practise, then what they ought to believe; not, as was the custom of the early Church, when men's minds were first of all to receive the faith which comes from hearing, and then be led by degrees to the practice of good works. Nowadays we should essay to win them from evil ways before we attack their evil doctrine. If Luther himself could be brought to a virtuous life, it would be easy to draw him back into the Church."

Those are words of permanent sagacity; they are not the less valuable to-day because now (as then) there is a general tendency to the sterile methods of doctrinal disputation, effective with the few, fruitless with the many. For the disease of the majority is less ignorance of truth than ignorance of the very spirit of truth—nay, the preoccupation by a spirit deadly to truth, the spirit of this world. Change of heart must precede, and in itself almost involves, change of mind. Our barbaric ancestors, on the contrary, were well-meaning children, needing only to be given belief for the belief gradually to work in them, and draw conduct in its wake.

After some six months, in the July of 1544, Favre left Cologne. He had, before his return thither, collected the scattered Jesuit students of Louvain in one house, and thus laid the foundations of their future establishment there. Canisius, his brilliant new disciple, was left to guard the work in Cologne. He soon had embroilment enough. The Archbishop, von Wied, roused himself to a final effort against these troublers of his ease; and the Lutheran magistracy (anticipating

COLOGNE : TIME OF IGNATIUS

modern French Ministries and their ways) proceeded against them as a new sect, therefore ruled out by law. The Jesuit house was closed, and the Jesuits scattered through Cologne. Presently they were suffered to return, and Archdeacon Gropper (that old thorn in the side of his Lutheranising Archbishop) convoked clergy and university. By them Canisius was despatched on a counter-move against the Lutherans, to seek aid from the Prince-Bishop of Liége and the Emperor himself. The Prince-Bishop was actively friendly, and Charles, in spite of the difficulties of his last Diet at Worms, where he had withstood all Le Jay's persuasions to active measures with the Reformation —was won by the young delegate of twenty-five. The issue was the deposition of the obstinate von Wied, and the giving of his bishopric to another, Adolph von Schaumberg. With him the chief scandal, at least, disappeared from among the struggling Catholics of Cologne, and in so far the Jesuits and Canisius had conquered.

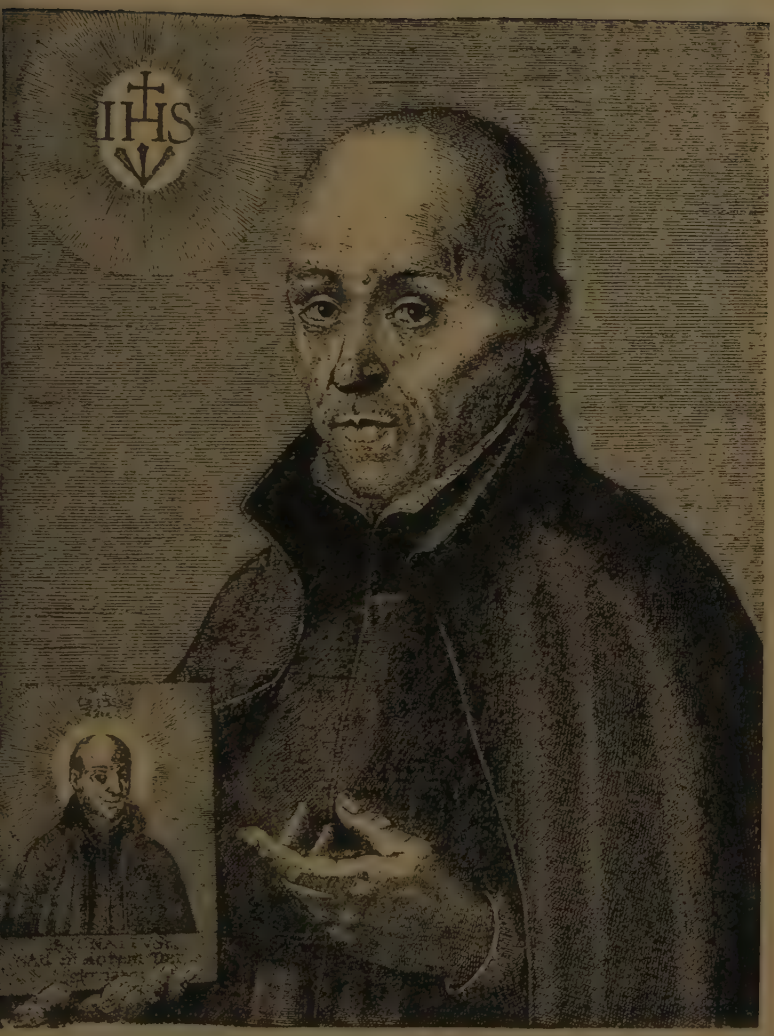
CHAPTER XII

AFTER this manner Ignatius saw his Society enter Germany, and outflank in its own fastnesses the potent Reformation. But what had happened in that Paris which was, virtually, the very cradle of the Order, wherein all its first members had been recruited, and Ignatius himself had received his chief training?

Paris had not been left without seed. Ignatius had experienced its educational advantages, and he kept there a small number of students whom he specially wished to train intellectually. The charity of wealthy friends of the Society provided their expenses. They were placed under a Superior; at first d'Eguia, in the next year (1541), when he was recalled, Geronimo Domenech, who, having known Ignatius at the University, had been made a Jesuit by Favre and Lainez during a tour of study in Italy. They lodged at first in the Collège des Trésoriers, then in that of the Lombards, where many of them had scholarships, so that they could accommodate the others in their rooms. In 1542 Ignatius sent Ribadeneira thither from Rome, in company with Diaz—who, however, failed to persevere, became a soldier, and, alas, was killed in a duel. Poor young Ribadeneira, weak of body, it was suggested should ride, but, "Pedro may do as he likes," said the Saint; "if he be son of mine he will foot it like the rest." And foot it Pedro did, begging food and lodgings after the custom of the early Jesuits on travel. Travel-fordone and weak as he was, Viterbo yet saw that the old monkey-spirit was not quite dead in Ignatius's

beloved scapegrace. He wandered over the hospital which sheltered them at evening, into the church, and clambered into the pulpit, where the Sacristan espied him and—error or jest—says to himself, "Ha, here we have a preacher," and begins ringing of the bell. In come passers-by; down comes Pedro, but is told they have come to hear him, and he must preach. By good hap, he had lately preached a sermon—the practice-sermon of a Novice—on the Blessed Sacrament in the Roman House. So, with true Pedro-audacity, he stepped back into the pulpit and gave it bravely out. He escaped to his cell, thinking the escapade over, when in came an old man—an old man with an avowal. True Italian, he had been hoarding up revenge on an enemy for several years, and avoiding the confessional till he should have wreaked it. But the amateur preacher had touched him; he repented his design and besought absolution. Pedro sent him to his priestly companion, rejoiced in so happy an outcome of his freak.

Ribadeneira was not the sole distinguished name among these Paris students. There, also, were Paolo Achille and, still more, Francesco Strada. Diego Miron, future Provincial of Spain, was a Novice. But renewal of the ever-renewed Spanish war brought forth the banishment from France of all Spaniards: eight Jesuits, including Ribadeneira and the Superior, Domenech, had to quit. Strada also was one of them: they drifted to Arras, and from Arras to Brussels. Thence, when the French army was at last driven from before Louvain, they reached that city. Not till 1545 did peace permit some of the students, headed by Father Viola, to regain Paris.



RIBADENEIRA : COMPANION OF IGNATIUS

Despite the victory which their Founder's personality in old days had gained there, they found plenty of the wholesome hardship, the necessity for struggle, which keeps the spiritual no less than the physical athlete "fit." If we remember the obloquy of the Spaniards in Elizabethan, or of the French in later Georgian, England, we can conceive the enmity of France towards all Spaniards in this period of chronic, prolonged, and, for France, not over-glorious war. The Jesuits, largely Spanish, bore the full disadvantage of it. The Universities, headed by the powerful Sorbonne, were bitterly jealous of the foreign interlopers. The nephew of the Archbishop of Paris, against his uncle's will, had joined the Society; they were papally excepted from his jurisdiction: and the Archbishop, therefore, entered the informal coalition against them. Postel, a clever and erratic Paris professor, by his connection with the Society, had brought on it further obloquy. He could walk, he boasted, from Paris to Peking, speaking the tongue of every country through which he passed; and he had been some time in the East. This personage had entered the Roman novitiate, but soon began to talk the most extravagant pseudo-mysticism of the period, and was dismissed the Order. He fell under the Inquisition before his return to Paris, and here was pretty matter for the enemies of Jesuitism. Then was put forth the famous legend of the "Monita Secreta," the story of secret lessons given to the Jesuit Superiors, which contradicted all the pious external professions they were warned to maintain, and directed them to exalt the Society by all means lawful or unlawful. An ex-Jesuit, Zahorowski, was the author of the "revelation,"

used afterwards by Jansenists and all adversaries of the Order, even to our own day. The Cardinals of the Holy Congregation pronounced the "Monita Secreta" false, calumnious, and defamatory; but the accusation circulated and gained credence all the same. The ready belief in falsehood, and the slow acceptance of truth, is among the most observed traits of human nature. The "Monita Secreta" was only the most conspicuous and famous of innumerable stories which were set on foot regarding the Society from the moment it sprang into notice, and which, like itself, spread rapidly over Europe.

Ignatius met these libels, for the most part, with a resolved policy of silence. His sons were forbidden to answer, and told to live the calumnies down. It is the only wise method with such prolific mushroom growth of scandal, which always outstrips the capacity to answer it; and herein he showed his unfailing wisdom. But when, in 1549, the Cardinal Guise de Lorraine came to Rome, advocating a league against the Emperor, Ignatius took the opportunity to enlist his sympathies against the attacks of the Sorbonne and the French Universities. He succeeded so well that Henry II., who had followed the first Francis on the throne of France, in January 1550 gave the Society Letters Patent to build a house and college in Paris. In this year, too, the Bishop of Clermont gave his town house to the Order; and it developed ultimately into the Collège Louis le Grand. The Provincial of Italy, Paschase Broët, was sent to Paris as French Provincial to accept the Bishop's donation, there being no professed Father at the time in Paris, Father Viola, the first choice for the position, having fallen ill.

But this turn of events in the Society's favour was met by a new outbreak of virulence. A Carmelite gave the signal by a hostile sermon in the Church of St. Severin. De Bellay, Archbishop of Paris, lent to the anti-Jesuit movement the sanction of his high place; men of reputation so illustrious as Seguier, du Boulay, Bruslart, Marillac —anticipating Pascal in a later day—came forward in the same sense, or nonsense; and the Parliament of Paris, declaring the Society noxious to King, State, and Hierarchy, refused to enrol the Letters Patent. Henry complied with the storm so far as to institute a Privy Council examination of the Jesuit Constitutions and the Bull of Authorisation. The Council pronounced that they could find nothing in them mischievous; and Henry again ordered the Parliament to register the Letters. This was two years after the first issue of them, in January 1552, but the Parliament continued obstinate. A new Spanish war aided them to delay the matter for a further two years. Then the Papal Letters and Briefs were handed over to the examination of the Theological Faculty and the Archbishop of Paris—the Society's enemy. The Huguenots combined with the Court and the Guises against a common adversary. The University petitioned the King against the registering of Paul III.'s Bull. After three days' consideration, the Parliament issued its objections, through its President, du Boulay. In December the Faculty of Theology put forth a unanimous and hostile conclusion. It is worth quotation, as an example of what responsible men could in that day authoritatively assert against the Jesuits:

"This new Society, which assumes the unusual

ABBEY OF ST. GERMAIN DES PRÉS: TIME OF IGNATIUS

title of the name of Jesus, which receives with so much licence and without selection all sorts of persons, however criminal, illegitimate, or infamous; which differs in nothing from the secular clergy in its dress, tonsure, &c., to which have been granted so many privileges and permissions, to the prejudice of the Ordinaries and the hierarchy of other Religious Orders, even of temporal princes and lords, moreover against the privileges of the Universities, and at a heavy charge to the people; this Society seems to wound the honour of the monastic state; weakens entirely the necessary exercise of virtue, in abstinence, ceremonies, austerity; facilitates the free abandonment of Religious Orders; withdraws from the obedience due to the Ordinaries; deprives the lords temporal or ecclesiastical of their rights, disturbs both classes, causes many subjects of complaint among the people, many lawsuits, contentions and divisions. Therefore, we, having examined all this and much else with great care and attention, find that this Society appears dangerous to the Faith, likely to trouble the peace of the Church, to overturn the monastic Orders, and rather to destroy than to strengthen."

The publication of this decision—which was at the same time a bitter indictment and from the highest ecclesiastical tribunal of France—was hailed as a victory by the coalition against the Society, with a discharge of artillery (so to speak) all along the line. From the pulpits, from the professional chairs, rolled salvoes of invective; printed diatribes flamed from the walls of the Sorbonne, rustled from hand to hand in the churches, were thrust under doors, lay about the streets of Paris. The Archbishop forbade Jesuit ministry in his diocese. To

all this formidable and organised assault the Jesuits made no reply. Ignatius would not even take any measures against the Archbishop's breach of the privilege conferred on him by the Holy See. One

Church of St. Michel, Louvain : Time of Ignatius

church, the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, was exempt from archiepiscopal control. There, by favour of the Abbot, they quietly continued the work else interrupted. So, beneath the surface, Jesuitism spread and made no sign.

Meanwhile, the little Spanish colony which fled from Paris to Louvain before the edicts against Spaniards, pursued a successful propaganda in the Flemish town. Their practices were copied by other students, and to most eloquent example they added addresses and discourses. Impetuous Ribadeneira

peculiarly distinguished himself; but study, austerity, and active evangelisation, told on a youth still in the Novitiate: he fell into moody melancholy, and began to falter in his vocation. The Superior of the little band, Domenech, therefore took Ribadeneira with him when he was summoned to Rome. The mere prospect of seeing Ignatius again brightened Pedro: but he needed

LORETO: TIME OF IGNATIUS

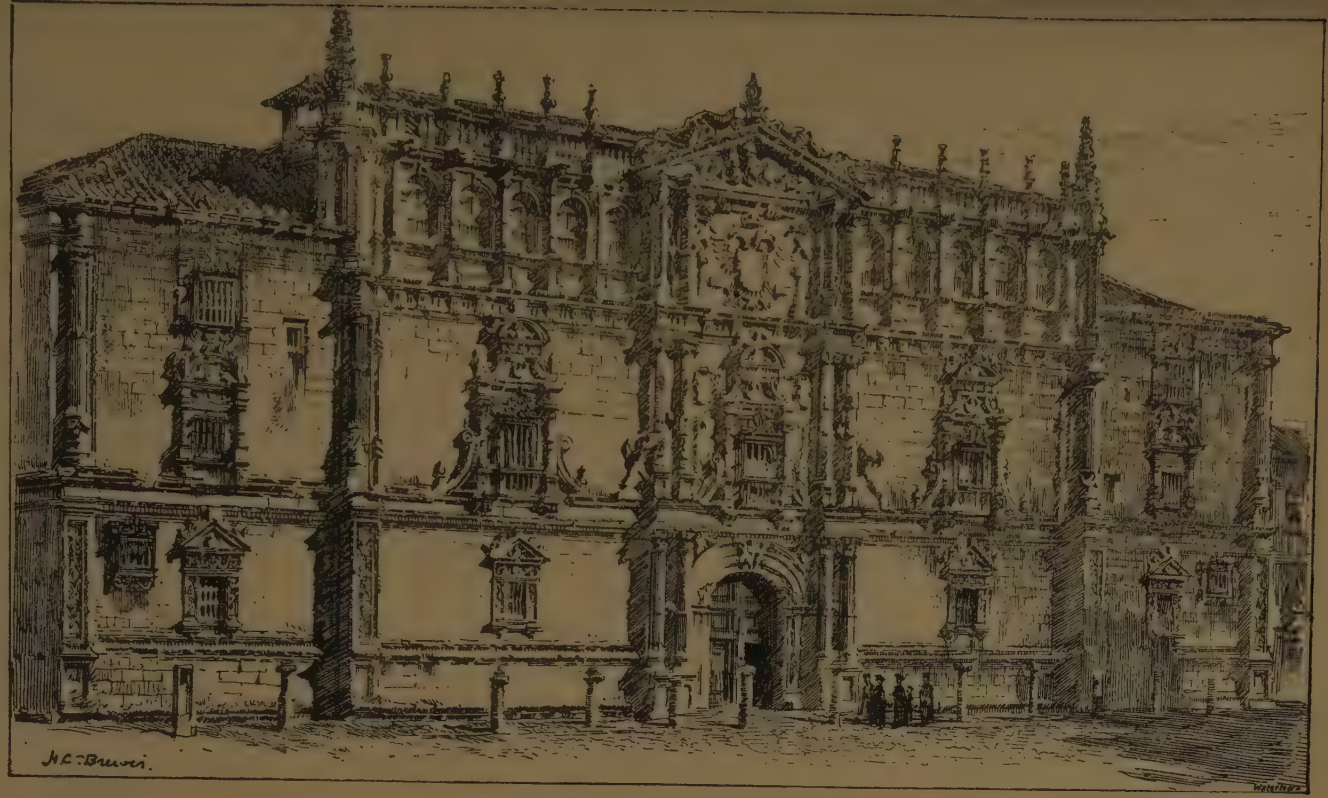
all his energy in the hard and circuitous journey forced on them by the war. Favre, still at Mainz when they arrived thither, wept at the sight of the irrepressible boy, the beloved scapegrace of the Roman House; washed his bleeding feet, and gave him a small cloak when he persisted in struggling forward with Domenech after four days' rest. Through the mountains they came down to Venice and Lainez. By Ravenna and its pine-wood, loved by Shelley and Dante, Domenech fell sick, and their other companion, Delz, stayed with him; but Ribadeneira pushed on alone towards the Saint for whom his heart cried out—selling Favre's cloak for two lire in the market-place. At Ancona, Father Christobal de Mendoza sent him on his way with two larger coins. At Loreto Church

THE PALACE, LORETTO

THE UPPER STORY OF WHICH WAS THE FIRST HOME OF THE SOCIETY IN THAT TOWN

he fainted away. Nevertheless he strove forward to Tolentino ; and there Salmeron and Broët succoured him, so that he set forth again enheartened and in comparative affluence. Ignatius was vesting for Mass when there fell at his feet the wreck of Ribadeneira, unrecognisable by the friends of his Roman days. Nor was it long before the two companions, whom his eager haste had left behind, rejoined him at headquarters, Domenech recovered from his illness. Such was the manner in which these undauntable early Jesuits faced the horrors (as our comfortable day would account them) of a journey on foot through a Europe torn with wars, untraversed by railroad or even *diligence*.

Others of the Jesuits whom we have seen rooting the Society in France and Germany were converging on the Spanish Peninsula. The college at Alcalá was founded by a recruit whom we have not hitherto met, Francisco de Villanueva. Here was a type worth noting ; for it was entirely different from the cultivated and scholarly men so familiar to us in the previous records of the nascent Society. Francisco was just an honest peasant, and the son of a peasant, with the intelligence and industry of a peasant, but no education. We must conceive the Spanish peasant of those days as another man from the slow "beef-witted" English rustic of our own day. So much so that his parish priest (near Plasencia) entrusted him with business in Rome. There he heard of the new Order, went through the "Exercises" with Salmeron, and was received into the Gesù. He was put in the kitchen, and afterwards given other cognate offices connected with the domestic



UNIVERSITY OF ALCALA

administration of the house. For his failures in these capacities Ignatius penanced him, until the Father pleaded that he was asked to do more than man could accomplish. Ignatius only said : " Let him be ; he has courage for anything," and wished that, of the sixty Novices, he had twenty like the Spanish peasant. This man it was whom the Saint sent to start the Alcalá College ; thinking also, after his wont, that a return to his own country might subserve Francisco's health. Two ladies found lodging for him and his comrades, and helped them with alms—continuing the tradition of womanly aid long ago begun towards Ignatius himself by Isabel Roser and so many others. The erstwhile peasant soon brought people of consequence into the Society, and was held as spiritual master by the aristocracy of the city which in old days had driven forth Ignatius—Ignatius, who now returned in triumph through those members of the great Religious family since born to him. Yet, like the Founder, Villanueva at thirty-four was even now setting himself to school ; studying grammar from borrowed books he was too poor to buy : an ignorant man, all unlike the brilliant associates who were making the Jesuit name ring through Europe. Even now this Rector of the College drudged in the kitchen ; it was all, said he, for which he was of use. The Bishop of his own familiar Plasencia visited him, and asked that some one might take an ass to fetch water. The Rector's brother was just come, said the Rector, and was the very person to send, and sent the Rector's brother was.

Through one man he reformed the neighbouring convent—an Hieronymite convent—of Ten-

dilla. This was a Pedro de Aragon, his friend, who was so affected by the "Exercises," under Francisco's direction, that he would have his brethren go through them. They scorned to embrace new-fangled notions at the suggestion of a young Religious and a new Order. One alone consented, in a spirit of levity, and set forth towards Alcalá "to try some sorceries which the Inigistas practise." This Lay-brother was an old soldier, so testy that only the moneys he had given to the convent prevented his dismissal. The brethren laughed irresistibly at the subject Pedro had secured for his experiment; and when the testy ex-warrior saw the peasant Rector in his patched robe, he was for turning back forthwith. Villanueva soothed him in the amiable Ignatian fashion, and persuaded him to stay overnight. Next day he was so mollified as to begin the "Exercises"; and the old soldier-noble (in brief) went back to his brethren a lamb, who had gone forth a lion. Confounded by such a result of the "sorceries which the Inigistas practise," they all agreed to try the marvel, and the "Exercises" worked their charm. The convent was reformed. But Alcalá, which had expelled the Founder, did not without an effort against them submit to his disciples. The power of Ortiz secured them for awhile, but on his death began invective and accusation. Villanueva appealed to the Rector of the University, who inspected the House, examined the Rules, and (in 1548) appointed a Commission of Inquiry. It was a hostile Commission of three; but nevertheless ended by clearing the Society, and this was the end of the attack. One doctor, Casa, who persisted, was

dismayed into silence and retractation by threat of the Inquisition : and thus the tribunal so often used against the Jesuits at last was turned against their foes. That is perhaps the most significant sign of the change which was coming over their position.

From Germany, meanwhile, came Favre, untired by conflict with Reformers and Catholics more disheartening than Reformers. Strada, also, landed at Corunna with his party destined for the College of Coimbra. A curious result of his landing was this—that a great haul of sardines being simultaneously secured, the sardine-fishing became traditionally supposed to be under the protection of the Society. Strada's preaching gained a recruit in the person of a Canon of the Cathedral, Juan Beira (afterwards missionary in India), who went on with them to Coimbra. They found that Rodriguez's work had prospered abundantly in the College ; and many novices destined to eminence entered after their arrival. Favre arrived at Lisbon, having (as we have seen) been invited by the King of Portugal. He met the King at Evora, was favourably received, and was joined by Araoz. Araoz had aroused extraordinary enthusiasm at Valencia on his way, and had been asked to found a college ; but its founding was reserved for Domenech in the following year. Favre and Araoz set forth on their journey towards Castile, where Favre was due to meet the young Philip of Spain and his bride, Maria, the daughter of the Portuguese King. They preached at Salamanca, promised to found there a Jesuit house, and passed on to Valladolid. There Philip and his bride (who died a few months later) awaited them ;

and Philip was quick to extend his patronage to the Society. Following his example, the Marquis of Tavora, the Archbishop of Toledo, and other

OLD CATHEDRAL, COIMBRA

bishops promised their protection. Leonora Mascarenhas, governess of the royal child, of old a friend of Favre, now aided him to start a Jesuit house at Valladolid ; and ultimately both house and college were completed by the help of many

subscribers. The completion of yet another work remained for Favre before he ended his career. Francis Borgia, who had succeeded his father as Duke of Gandia, was laying the stone of a college for the Society, and Favre was deputed to represent Ignatius. The two men met again for the last time. Borgia's wife, the beloved Leonora, was dead, and he was now free, and resolved to leave the world. He wished to consult Favre concerning the Order he should enter. The third time he went through the "Exercises" with Favre, and decided. He said farewell—for ever as it proved—to his guide, and gave him a message for Ignatius that he hoped soon to be numbered among his children. It was Favre's crowning achievement. Paul III. ordered him to accompany Lainez and Salmeron to Trent. But before the Council began, Favre had been summoned to the Council of Christ.

He had promised a house at Salamanca, and Ignatius himself was petitioned to found there a college. For this purpose he sent Miguel de Torres and two companions. Torres, an old Rector of the University of Alcala, had been a persistent enemy of the Society, and had finally been converted by an interview to which he was reluctantly persuaded with Ignatius. Beginning in poverty, Torres and his comrades ended by success; and with success came an enemy more irreconcilable than Torres himself had been. This enemy arose in the Order of St. Dominic. Melchior Cano, a celebrated preacher and writer, one of whose works is still used, inveighed against the Society with the fervour of conviction. The Jesuits, he declared, were heretics, visionaries, worse than the

THE OLD AND NEW CATHEDRALS, SALAMANCA *H. W. Brewer*

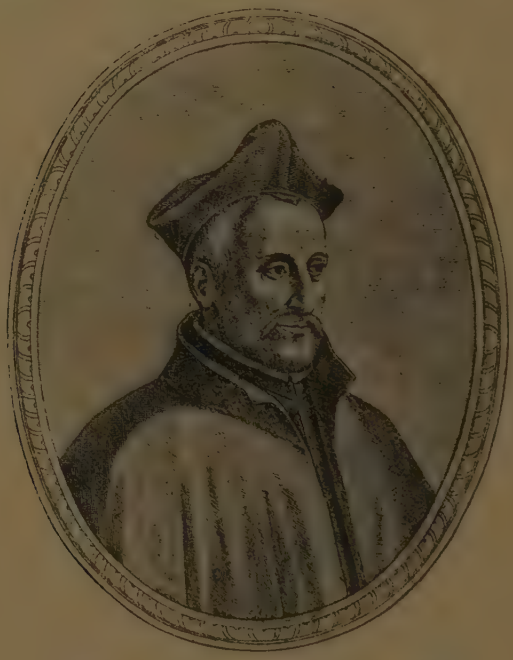
Reformers, foreshadowers of Antichrist, with all the terrible denunciations in which the sixteenth century was inexhaustibly fertile. In vain Torres pleaded the Papal approbation, the appointment of Lainez and Salmeron as Papal theologians at Trent, of Xavier as Nuncio in the Indies. In vain even the Dominican General declared for the Society. The Jesuits tried to get rid of Cano by procuring him a bishopric in the Canaries. But Cano would not go to the Canaries. He remained to be a gadfly to the Society. His General might call the Jesuits "our comrades in arms, who have the same objects as ourselves." Cano to the last held impenitently another view. "I wish," said he, in a letter, "that I may not have the fate of Cassandra. . . . If these Religious Orders go on as they have begun, God forbid that a time should come when kings shall wish to withstand them and find it impossible." In which, truly, he shot near enough to the mark—in the letter, if not in the spirit. As the "Monita Secreta" represent the unscrupulous and malignant side of the age-long assault on the Society, so Cano exemplifies that convinced hostility of honourable men, culminating in Pascal and the "Provincial Letters," which is the portion sharpest to be borne of the bitter legacy imprecated by Ignatius for his children. And under this virulent watering, as always, the Salamanca College prospered and attained good repute.

In the spring of 1546 (when Ignatius was now fifty-five), Domenech inaugurated yet another college at Bologna. In that same year died Luther, and the leader of the Jesuit forlorn hope on Lutheran Germany. Favre, leaving Borgia at

Gandia, reached Barcelona fever-stricken. Hearing this, Ignatius respited his summons to Rome. Some warned him that the journey would be fatal in his feeble state. But he was nominated Papal theologian for Trent : other of his brethren advised departure, and he took the deadly counsel. "Need is to obey, but not to live," he said ; and the saying spoke his character and his Order's. It might have come from the mouth of a Japanese general, heir of the Samurais. Ignatius welcomed him with tears, but, after a brief rally in the joy of the reunion at Santa Maria della Strada, he sank again and passed away. If he had the Japanese self-devotion, he had nothing of Japanese relentlessness. Love was his guide. "Give me the good spirit!" was his ejaculation in prayer : and he had special affection for the ministering angels, whose work he emulated on earth. He had invoked the Guardian Angel of each town he entered, of each person he addressed in talk, that the tutelary spirit might guide him to the fit word. In him died Ignatius's proper successor, full of work if not of years.

CHAPTER XIII

IN Italy itself the Society was steadily spreading during the fruitful years 1542–1544, following Ignatius's election as General in 1541. To Venice went Lainez ; and the Venetians in crowds passed



DIEGO LAINEZ, COMPANION OF IGNATIUS

half the night outside the church, as outside the doors of a theatre, to hear his ardent oratory. It availed to restrain even the licence of their beloved Carnival—a sacrifice which only an Italian can properly measure ; and his sermons in San Salvatore on the Gospel of St. John he was solicited to repeat thrice a week. He lodged, as of old, at the Hospital of SS. John and Paul ; but Ignatius

sent him word to accept the rejected offer of the Doge's palace—thanks to the intervention of the Nuncio at Venice. The Doge was Andrea Lippomani, a Teutonic Knight, and brother to the Bishop of Verona. This was the beginning of a College at Padua; for Andrea offered Lainez the Priory of the Maddalena there, which was his benefice. The Jesuits did not take over the gift unhindered. Lippomani's family were angered that the Priory should be withdrawn from their ancestral control; his brother and nephew appealed against him to the famous Council of Ten. That much-maligned but sufficiently harmless body showed itself discriminating and just. Salmeron hastened, at Ignatius's bidding, to support Lainez, and the two appeared before a hostile Council, naturally favourable to its own nobles and prejudiced against the interloping strangers, with their shabby garments.

Upon this adverse auditory Lainez worked an effect which preluded his triumphs before that Council, yet more august, of Trent. At the close of his speech they rose as one man and applauded. The Lippomani had to taste defeat. Ignatius would have propitiated them by an annuity of two hundred crowns to the two young men; and, when Andrea objected, made him perpetual administrator of the College, as the only means left of maintaining something of the family connection with the Priory. Polanco and des Freux, then Otelli, came first to Padua; and some five more with Mendoza next year completed the opening of the College—the first in Italy. André des Freux, though only a scholastic, was an accomplished student: the catalogue of his knowledge is ency-

clopædic, after the manner of the age. He would deserve note for one thing alone—that (becoming secretary to the Saint) he translated the "Exercises" into Latin, the first published work of the Society that was to fill the world with its publications. At a subsequent period he was Superior of the College secured for the Society by Lippomani at Venice. A Jew named Elia came thither in pursuit of his brother, whom the Jesuits had received. Des Freux offered him lodging in the College, that he might be free to converse with his brother. On his arrival during the evening, the Fathers, according to custom, washed his feet. Softened by their gentleness and courtesy, he was himself converted, and, being young, learned, and proficient in Eastern tongues, he became a missionary at Jerusalem and Cairo.

Otelli, who had been a student at Padua, was another invaluable accession to the new College, and had a successful after-career. The College found abundant work. Padua was infected with the Reformed teaching; and the preaching of Lainez prospered against it, as it had prospered in Venice. From Padua he turned his intellectual arms against the German innovations in Bassano with the same brilliant results. The perfervid Italians cast flowers upon him as he left the pulpit. In 1544 Lainez attacked another Italian stronghold of Lutheranism, Brescia. A monk who had turned Lutheran stood forth as champion of the Reformation, and challenged Lainez to a public disputation. He had reasons against the doctrine of Purgatory, so cogent that Lainez would be silenced. A crowd assembled to hear the contest. In those days a public disputation was as much

relished as it would have been in the Athens of Socrates, or as a lecture is still relished in the country of Emerson. One cannot say that, for the

THE BASILICA OF ST. ANTONY, PADUA

most part, these contests were more practically efficacious than they were in Athens. Some listeners may have been convinced; but for the disputants themselves, whichever way the dialectical victory inclined, they generally parted of their own opinion still. It is not the convincing of

heads, but the convincing of hearts, that usually brings about a conversion. This disputation is remarkable as an exception to a rule which has few exceptions. The monk opened the attack. Lainez listened quietly, without interruption and with lowered eyes. The monk concluded; and then Lainez took his arguments one by one, answering them in the order of their delivery, though he had not taken a note. It was an extraordinary feat of memory; and the result was sensational. The monk, on the spot, publicly owned himself persuaded, and afterwards was reconciled to the Church. He became an attached friend of Lainez. Another Jesuit, Achille, the pupil of Favre, founded with Delanoy the College of Palermo.

Meantime Ignatius was extending the work of the Society in Rome itself. The once friendless innovator had now numerous friends in high ecclesiastical place, such as Francesco Vanucci, chief almoner to Pope Paul III., Lorenzo di Castello, and Giacomo Crescenzi, who advised him as to his projects and the means of promoting them. A first result was the establishment in 1543 of the House of St. Martha for unfortunate women. All who wished to be were received and maintained without vows being required from them. It was so successful that three hundred were admitted in four years. A confraternity of ladies was organised to provide funds for the house and to help personally in the work. Ignatius followed up these poor creatures to their own houses and quarters, and accompanied them to the house through the public streets of Rome. "If I can prevent but one sin, it is worth all the trouble I can take," he said when people remonstrated that such or such a woman's

repentance was short-lived. Even the wife of the Imperial Ambassador lent her house for these women's reception, and other noble matrons followed her example. This good work too did not escape the customary opposition against Jesuit innovations. The scum of Rome, male and female,

H. W. B.

View from Ponte Quattro Capi, Rome: Time of Ignatius

nightly for months thronged before the House of St. Martha; they broke the windows, and made the air foul with obscene cries and threats. But the work went on. Rules were passed that no married woman should leave unless to rejoin her husband, no unmarried woman unless to become a nun or otherwise permanently and honourably establish herself. The discovery of ancient Roman remains on some ground before the Jesuits' House, which Codacio was able to sell at a profit, came in time to aid the finances of the new establishment, which Ignatius at first had himself supplied. This was used to buy ground, and with the help of

charitable contributions the house was made ready.

Ignatius did not rest here. He next turned his attention to a house for the Jews. He had received, to live with him, converted Jews cast out by their families, till their number exceeded his accommodation, and it grew needful to seek a permanent establishment. This was finally provided at San Giovanni di Mercato. The inmates were allowed by the Pope to keep all their property save what had been won by usury : this was to be restored to those from whom it had been gained ; or, if that were not feasible, used in an appointed way for their own advantage. It is a feature less commendable to our modern ideas, though quite in the taste of the time, that Ignatius procured for these converts an enforced contribution from the synagogues. He would have reasoned, doubtless, that their families were unjust in depriving them of subsistence, and it was therefore just that the synagogues should repair that injustice.

He was now become an object of popular veneration, and drew throngs whenever he was seen abroad. He used his popularity to procure the foundation of orphanages for boys and girls, and a refuge for girls in need of protection. Another step which he took is at variance with modern feelings. He interested himself with all his energy in promoting the revival of a disused decree by which doctors were forbidden to attend persons in danger of death until a priest had first been called in. He did not succeed, but it was afterwards revived by Pius V. Many have come, nowadays, to doubt the ultimate efficacy of State

interference with personal religion, but none then dreamed of doubting it.

Amidst the Saint's minor interests and foundations, however, one foundation stands out conspicuous—that of Santa Maria della Strada, already mentioned more than once. The parish church of Santa Maria della Strada stood beneath the Capitoline Hill, hard by the Papal palace of San Marco, a finely central site which Ignatius was quick to discern. He succeeded in obtaining it through the indefatigable Codacio. The parish was removed to the basilica of San Marco, and from 1541 to 1543 his brethren and himself lived in an old and poor building facing the church. Then alms came in freely enough for Codacio to erect a new building, beside the church. This church of Santa Maria della Strada was small, too small for the crowds brought thither by Ignatius and the Jesuits. Additions were made, but, on his arrival, St. Francis Borgia determined to have done with patchings and to build an entirely new church. The foundation-stone was even laid in 1550, and it was the design of Borgia to make his church memorable by calling in no less a man than Michael Angelo. "The most celebrated man now known," wrote Ignatius, "Michael Angelo, who is doing St. Peter's, is undertaking the work for mere devotion and without any gain." This passing link between Ignatius and Michael Angelo is itself interesting, and the perpetuation of it in immortal stone would have been monumentally valuable. But the scheme failed, and it was after Michael Angelo's death that Cardinal Alessandro Farnese began, in 1568, the existing church of the Gesù.

The year 1544 was closed for Ignatius with a minor incident, which he doubtless did not think minor—the illness of Ribadeneira. That Benjamin of the Society gradually acquires with the reader something of the attraction he had for Ignatius. The illness was long. This Pedro, one conjectures, for all his high spirits, was of no robust constitution; and he hesitated to comply with the doctor's prohibition of Lenten fasting. His brethren might be shocked. "Who has a right to be shocked?" answered Ignatius. "Ought they not rather to thank God they are not in the like need?" Yet poor Pedro had not been so far wrong in his fast; some of the Toledo College actually found matter for scandal in the necessary relaxation. Ignatius was so angered that he sent a letter, which he ordered to be read in the College refectory, denouncing the penalty of expulsion against all who should repeat the offence. One likes the touch of hot indignation on behalf of the ardent lad who had cost him such special trouble in the Novitiate. When Ribadeneira recovered Ignatius despatched him to Padua, that he might finish studies twice broken off, once when he left Paris with the Spanish Jesuits, and again when his health obliged him to leave Louvain for Rome. Two brothers of Salmeron accompanied him, of whom the young Diego died at Padua. "I believe," wrote Ignatius to Ortiz of Ribadeneira, during this sojourn at Padua, "that, if he lives, he will be a great and true servant of God our Lord."

At the same time Ignatius was exercising his vigilance in affairs abroad. In 1542 he had mediated between the Pope and the King of

Portugal, Joam III. The Pope had raised to the Cardinalate Miguel da Sylva, Bishop of Viseu, who, after being Prime Minister, had fallen under the royal displeasure; the king was offended, recalled his ambassador from Rome, and sequestrated the bishop's revenues. Ignatius suggested a compromise, by which the bishopric should pass to Cardinal Farnese, while Farnese should pay over its revenues to Miguel during the latter's lifetime. The king accepted the proposal, indirectly made to him through Father Simon Rodriguez, the Jesuit Provincial at Lisbon. The Pope gave special privileges to the Portuguese Church, Joam made Miguel protonotary of the kingdom of Portugal, and the matter was smoothed over. Thus early we see the Society beginning to exert that political influence for which it afterwards became famous.

Nor was this the sole instance. Ignatius obtained Joam's interference against duelling, and was again a mediator between him and the Pope concerning the Inquisition. The Portuguese Jews had been summarily "converted," and the Portuguese Church was not long in discovering that hidden Jews were more dangerous than open Jews. The remedy which Joam was anxious to try was the ill remedy of the Inquisition. But the Popes never loved that weapon of the Spanish or Portuguese kings, and Paul III. stood out, anxious concerning the right of accused persons. In August 1546 Ignatius writes to Rodriguez that the king's proposals are not yet quite accepted.

"The Pope desires that the Saracens and Jews who have received baptism shall have four months granted them to decide either to remain in Portugal

and live there as true Christians, or to leave it, if they prefer to retain their superstitious worship. The Pope wills also that the Inquisition shall be gentle and compassionate towards all who are brought before it, whatever be the cause of accusation."

The Pope, in fact, under Ignatius's mediation, yielded at last, but reluctantly and with every effort to safeguard the just treatment of prisoners.

A less questionable topic of negotiation between Joam and Ignatius concerned the possessions of Portugal in the East and in Africa. Thus in 1543 the Jesuits sent out to join Xavier took over the Seminary of Goa. And, in Africa, Portugal asked their assistance. Her Red Sea possessions had brought her (like Italy nowadays) into contact with Abyssinia. Abyssinia, the ancient Ethiopia, which of old gave his title to the Egyptian as Wales to our English heir-apparent, was a land of fable and romance for our European ancestors. So it had been in the Middle Ages, and the legend still subsisted in the sixteenth century. It will ever subsist, for the mediæval romance has been immortalised in the most enchanted poetry of our nineteenth century :

> It was an Abyssinian maid,
> And on her dulcimer she played,
> Singing of Mount Abora.

And yet to another poet it was " all in a heavenly Abyssinian vale " that

> The ruddy snow
> On many-ridgèd Abora turned pale.

For, said mediæval legend, Abora was the guardian

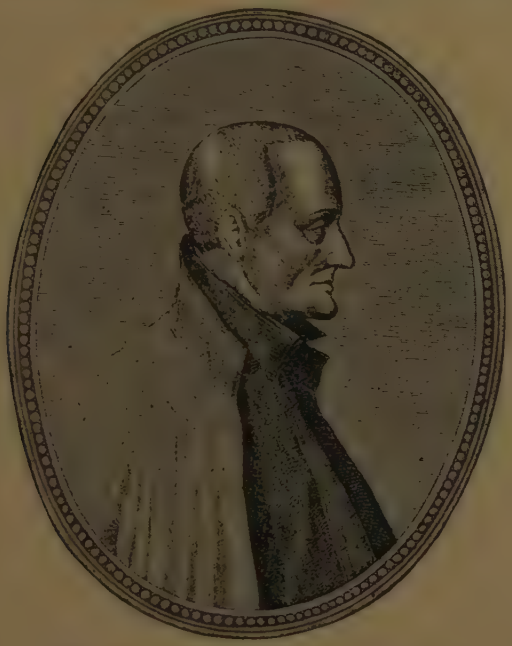
Mount which overlooked the site of Paradise. To the sixteenth century Abyssinia was a land of fabulous riches; and, like the imagined El Dorado of the West, set on edge its worst lusts of avarice. The Portuguese Catholics, like the Dutch and

PASCHASE BROËT, COMPANION OF IGNATIUS

Anglo-Saxon heretics after them, while their Government talked about the spread of Christianity, too often made Christianity a synonym for rapine and craving of gold. Xavier protested that these Catholics were making Catholicism infamous; but nothing was done to check the infamy by Catholic Portugal and her Catholic king. It was politically convenient to be blind, even as yet more Catholic Spain found eminently useful Nelson's policy of looking with the blind eye.

But at length Xavier, in the fame of his success, roused that incalculable thing, the conscience of a king. Joam instructed his ambassador to request from Ignatius the despatch of a mission to these Portuguese possessions; a mission to both Christians and heathens, for the Catholicising of the Catholics no less than their unhappy subjects. This was in 1546, and Ignatius eagerly embraced the opportunity, choosing Broët for head of the mission. But, with the request, Joam's Catholic zeal was exhausted, and he troubled himself no further. Ignatius was not so ready to be content with good imagination; he persisted in soliciting the king, and endeavoured to prick his sluggish purposes by diplomatic considerations of his own dignity and political advantage, having regard to the neighbourhood of his Indian territories. Despite all his efforts, it was not till seven years later, in 1553, that Joam at last took active measures. He asked Ignatius to send twelve priests; one to be Ethiopian Patriarch, another to be coadjutor, with right of succession. Ignatius no longer proposed Broët; and, of the three names submitted by him, Joam selected Juan Nuñez. The other two, who accompanied him in the mission, were Carneiro and Oviedo; the two first being Portuguese. At last the belated mission put to sea; and Ignatius's pertinacity was successful. The letter he wrote to Rodriguez when Joam first mooted his design is worth quoting from, to show the minute care he exercised in weighing the qualifications of the men whom he chose for any important mission. It has all the worldly sagacity which he so remarkably conjoined with sanctity.

"I think that whoever may undertake the enterprise in Ethiopia must have three qualifications—first, virtue; secondly, learning; thirdly, that he should be of a dignified exterior, strong and middle-



ALFONSO SALMERON, COMPANION OF IGNATIUS

aged. To speak of Le Jay, he is very old; Master Lainez, though of great virtue, has not much presence, and is very delicate. Master Salmeron is young, and is still almost as boyish and beardless as you knew him; Master Bobadilla is very often poorly, and is not very suitable. Master Paschase (Broët) alone seems to me to have in full every requisite gift. First, he is so good that we consider him in our company as an angel; secondly, in addition to the learning that he possesses, he has much experience in the reform of bishoprics and

convents ; and, as he went to Ireland as Nuncio, none of the Society knows so much about these affairs ; for he is naturally very active and very diligent, and has always many episcopal and reserved cases to resolve, which will be still more pressing in Ethiopia. Besides, he is in person very comely and strong, and his age is a little more or less than forty."

The insistence on presence and physical strength shows the Saint to have had a prudent regard for physical advantages, over and above his reliance on virtue and grace. Clearly he did not share the Shakesperean view, that a man is in the plenitude of his powers at twenty-nine or thirty, and reckoned forty an excellent working age—despite some modern opinions to the contrary.

In the midst of these labours he was once more assailed by personal opponents ; but these attacks, being after the old pattern, may be briefly dismissed. One came from a certain Mattia, postmaster of San Cassiano, and arose out of his connection with the penitents' house of St. Martha. A woman, with whom Mattia lived, found shelter there for her remorse. Mattia first attacked the house by night, and then the orthodoxy and morals of the Jesuits. Ignatius sought and finally gained an inquiry ; but, before it came off, Mattia was already repentant, testified in the Jesuits' favour, and escaped with an injunction of silence—becoming afterwards a friend of the Society. The second assault arose out of the house for Jews, and the jealousy of the secular priest who was its Superior, Giovanni di Torano. Heresy, and violation of the Confessional bond of secrecy, these were his

ESTABLISHMENTS FOUNDED BY IGNATIUS, OR AT HIS SUGGESTION, IN ROME

A. THE GESÙ. B. ROMAN COLLEGE. C. COLLEGE OF CONFESSORS AT ST. PETER'S. D. NOVITIATE. E. BOYS' ORPHANAGE. F. GIRLS' ORPHANAGE.
G. CATECHUMENATE. H. ST. MARTHA, HOUSE FOR PENITENTS. I. ST. CATHARINE'S HOUSE OF SHELTER. K. GERMAN COLLEGE.
L. ENGLISH COLLEGE. M. ROMAN SEMINARY. N. MARONITE COLLEGE.

charges; but, forcing them to a hearing, his own conduct failed to bear the light; and life-imprisonment was commuted to banishment through the Saint's intervention. The third attack, from a Spanish friar Barbarán, was again directed against St. Martha; but the inquiry by Cardinal Crescenzi easily disposed of it; and its one result was a little Ignatian letter in which the Saint returned the Friar's wishes for a bonfire of Jesuits by a hope that the Friar himself might be fired with the Holy Ghost. Of these things enough.

Matters more weighty called for Ignatius's attention. One was the matter of dignities for his disciples. First Bobadilla, and then Le Jay, were proposed for the Bishopric of Trieste by Ferdinand, King of the Romans. All over Europe, such were the disorders of the Church and the time, there was difficulty in finding worthy occupants for vacant sees, when worthy occupants were most in demand. In Germany the difficulty and the necessity were alike at their height, and Ferdinand had seen with his own eyes the success of the Jesuits there where others failed. From Germany, therefore, came the first conceptions of a design which would have replenished the veins of the episcopacy by draining those of the Society. Nor was this the only reason for the alarm with which Ignatius heard of the project. From those early Roman days, when the Imperial ambassadors made known to him the charge that his humility was a bait for a mitre, he had resolved to refuse all dignities for his Order except under Papal compulsion; and he held them fatal to the very spirit of his Society. He had cause, then, on all hands for alarm. The danger was instant. Refused by Bobadilla, Ferdi-

nand turned to Le Jay. Refused by Le Jay, he turned to the Pope to compel Le Jay. Le Jay, panic-stricken, appealed to Ignatius; but the matter was already afoot. Ferdinand had put the affair in the hands of his ambassador, Lasso, with a letter, setting forth his reasons, and ordering him to press the matter urgently with the Pope. Ignatius appealed to the ambassador, and was met by Ferdinand's letter. He hastened to the Pope, and found Paul III. already committed, and firm in his approval. The hearts of kings were in the hands of the Lord; and the Pope held that Ferdinand, at any rate, had justified Scripture. From his standpoint the view was natural; and he would give Ignatius nothing beyond a promise to seek counsel of prayer, with a recommendation that Ignatius should do the same. Ignatius doubtless did; but he also sought aid of his friends in the purple: with the result that Cardinal Carpi wrote in his behalf to Ferdinand—fruitlessly. Finally he had recourse to his penitent, Margaret of Austria: she engaged Paul to delay the nomination till a final appeal could be made to Ferdinand. Ignatius wrote the letter himself, and where Carpi had failed he succeeded. Ferdinand instructed Lasso to drop the business, and the Pope then gave way to Ignatius. The *finale* was a Jesuit *Te Deum*.

But not only a *Te Deum*. The escape had been too narrow, and Ignatius thought the moment ripe to make a repetition of the attempt impossible. He laid before the Pope the whole danger to the spirit of the Order in such honours. The danger of worldliness; the danger of jealousies and disunion; the corruption of motive, or suspicion of such corruption; the hold it would give to their

enemies, since the Jesuits, by their nearness to the Court of Rome and the Courts of princes, must have peculiar opportunity for seeking preferment, and would be charged, in any case, with taking advantage of it. He adduced also the drain on the talent and worth of the Society, but disclaimed any censure of other Orders which accepted dignities and bore them estimably. The young Order was too weak for a like levy. "Holy Father," said the Captain of Pamplona, reverting always to the martial conception of his Company, "I hold the other Orders in the army of the Church-Militant as so many squadrons of cuirassiers, who are to stand fast in the post assigned them, keep their ranks, and face the enemy, always in the same line, and with the same manner of fighting. But we are as so many light-horsemen, who must be always ready, night or day, against the hap of alarms and surprises, to assault or support, as it may chance, to go everywhere and skirmish on all sides. Being enforced to remove continually from town to town, from province to province, from pole to pole, at the least beck of Christ's Vicar, we cannot rightly be stablished anywhere." "It is the first time," said Paul, "that any Sovereign has hearkened to such a petition as this!" and Ignatius prevailed. The Jesuits were absolved from dignities.

The next matter was to secure them from undertaking the direction of Women-Religious; and this too arose out of chance occasion. It wears almost an ungracious look that Ignatius, who had owed so much to women in the early struggles which preceded the establishment of the Society—so that it might wellnigh be said women were the foster-mothers of Jesuitism—should refuse to charge it

ST. PETER'S, ROME: TIME OF IGNATIUS

CHAPEL OF CONFRATERNITY OF BLESSED SACRAMENT.

OBELISK AND SACRISTY.

THE PIGNA.

PALACE OF THE ROTA.

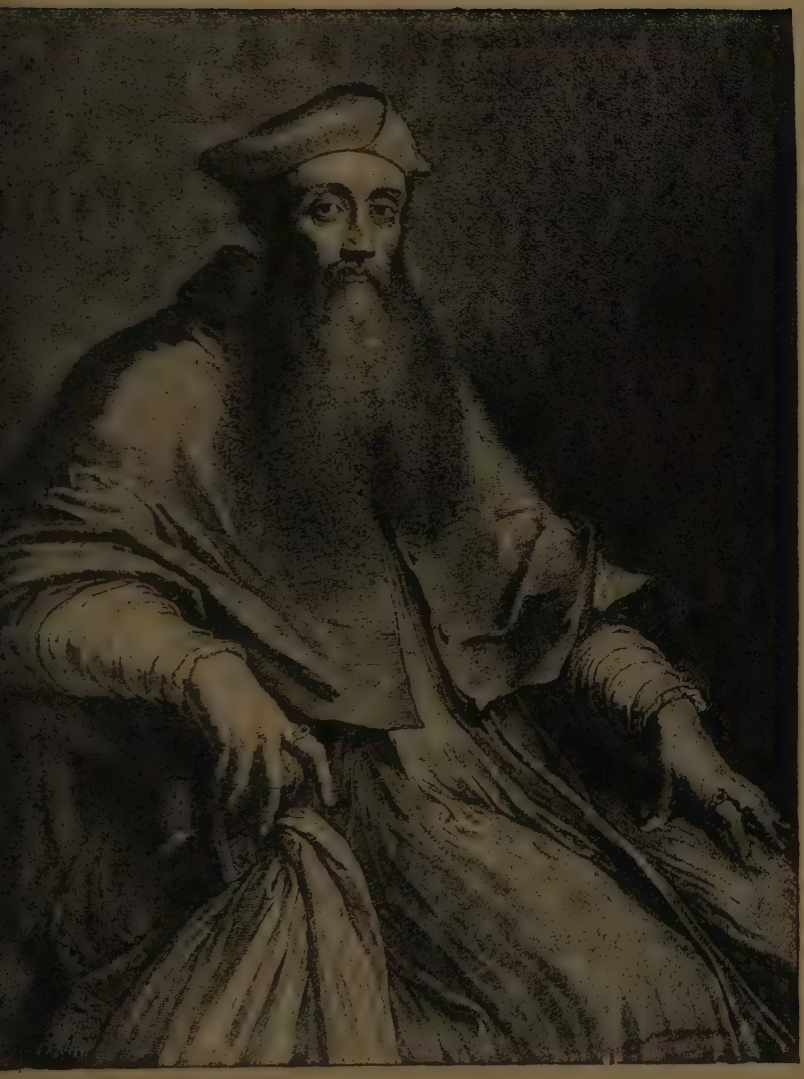
with the responsibility for the most serious of their sex. It was a further irony of fate that the very occasion for this prohibition was created by the most constant of his early benefactresses, Isabel Roser. Isabel became a widow, and arrived in Rome with the design of beginning a Religious life under obedience to Ignatius. Two Roman ladies joined her ; and at first the Saint's gratitude, coupled with the Pope's personal intercession, proved stronger than his prepossession against such an idea. The community was a very little one, too ; and would surely, therefore, give little trouble. He accepted the vows of Isabel and her friends. Brief experience dispelled the idea that a small community must be small charge. Devoted woman though she was, she gave rueful demonstration that women may attain heroic virtues sooner than reticence and discretion. The unlucky leader found the ladies a restless exaction : out of season, as well as in, he was pestered to resolve their doubts and scruples, hear their grievances, adjust their squabbles. The government of three pious women, he cried (there were actually four), was more trouble than that of the whole Society ! He would have no more of it ; and—after announcing his resolve to Isabel in a kind letter, engaging her to abide by the Papal decision—he appealed to Pope Paul for a release from his obligation, and an absolution of the Society from all such duties in future. Paul, accordingly, by Apostolical Letters discharged the Society from the government of women, singly or in community. Following the matter with wonted thoroughness, next year Ignatius secured that even specially granted Bulls should not compel the Jesuits to such charge, unless they were expressly designated for it

by name. A provision against the government of women was then inserted in the Constitutions—allowing the members, however, to render spiritual assistance, and hear confessions of women, on special occasions ; and the peril of many Isabel Rosers was effectually fended from the Order. Two or three years afterwards Ignatius refused the petition of the Duke of Ferrara, a friend who had built the College in his own town, that the Jesuits would direct a convent founded by his mother ; and the Valladolid Fathers were commanded to abandon the control of another they had been persuaded to assume. But with Isabel Roser the affair had an issue which must have been a grief to Ignatius. Her acquiescence, one may guess, covered a smouldering sense of injury, perhaps of ingratitude on the Saint's part. Be this as it may, she presently changed her attitude towards him, and through her nephews brought an action to recover "a great sum" which she alleged the Jesuit House owed her. Further, she wanted a written statement that Ignatius did not abandon her on account of her faults, and filled Rome with talk about her wrongs. Despite the Saint's efforts to have the case privately settled, she allowed her nephews (one of whom, Dr. Ferrar, was inimical to Ignatius) to carry it before the Substitute of the Papal Vicar ; and of course lost it. One is sorry to know that she seems never to have renewed her friendship with the man to whom once she had been, as he himself called her, a mother in Christ.

CHAPTER XIV

IN the midst of these crosses, never out of sight, another case of the first importance was engaging Ignatius's attention. The great and long-delayed Council of Trent had at last begun its sittings in the outset of 1546. Two future Popes and our English Cardinal Pole presided over an assembly of ecclesiastics and ambassadors embracing some of the most illustrious men of the day under the ægis of the Emperor, though the European disorders, which withheld many bishops, prevented it from being altogether representative. At Trent, Ignatius witnessed the culmination of his young and new Society in the eyes of Europe. Their presence in the Council was itself a signal tribute to an influence beyond all proportion to the Society's yet slender numbers.

For the Order had itself no voice in the Council, its members held no offices, no dignities, which should give them place in that august convocation; yet the most diverse authorities sought and sent them as delegates. From Italy came Lainez and Salmeron as theologians of the Pope; in Spain, Favre was delayed from assuming the same duties. From Cologne, later, came Peter Canisius, to represent the Prince-Bishop. From Germany also came Le Jay, with the mandate of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg. Belgium sent Jean Cuvillon, chosen by the Duke of Bavaria. Unsought and unforeseen, it was a veritable demonstration of the new force that had arisen in the world. Ignatius felt the importance of the occasion, and gave the two Papal nominees lessons as to how they should bear



REGINALD, CARDINAL POLE
(*After the Windsor Raphael*)

themselves in their novel post. It might not seem altogether unnecessary, where the one (Salmeron) was but thirty, and the other but some four years older. To guide their own speech by attentive observation of the previous speakers; to set forth the arguments on either side of a question; to avoid quoting living authorities; to deliver their views "with great peace, calm, and modesty"—these were the chief points he advised in regard to debate. He was specially emphatic on the point of a quiet and unhurried delivery, recommending them always to end by some such phrase as "with deference to better judgment"; and he was earnest that they should avoid every sharp or wounding word. Their duties at the Council were not to absolve them from the customary evangelising and charitable duties of a Jesuit outside the Council: these Papal Jesuits were to visit the hospitals every fourth day, at least, to preach to the people; even to catechise little children. God's glory and the Church's good must be sole motive of their conciliar actions. Of a morning they should resolve together on their course for the day, and of an evening review in common what had been transacted.

These unprecedented Papal delegates had such patched and worn cassocks that it was thought needful and seemly to supply them with new ones —which they discarded when they emerged from the Council-chamber. But when Salmeron opened the discussion in an eloquent Latin oration, there was no question of his cassock. Lainez summed up the day's proceedings (an office committed to him because of his remarkab'e memory); and after the discussion in May of the Immaculate

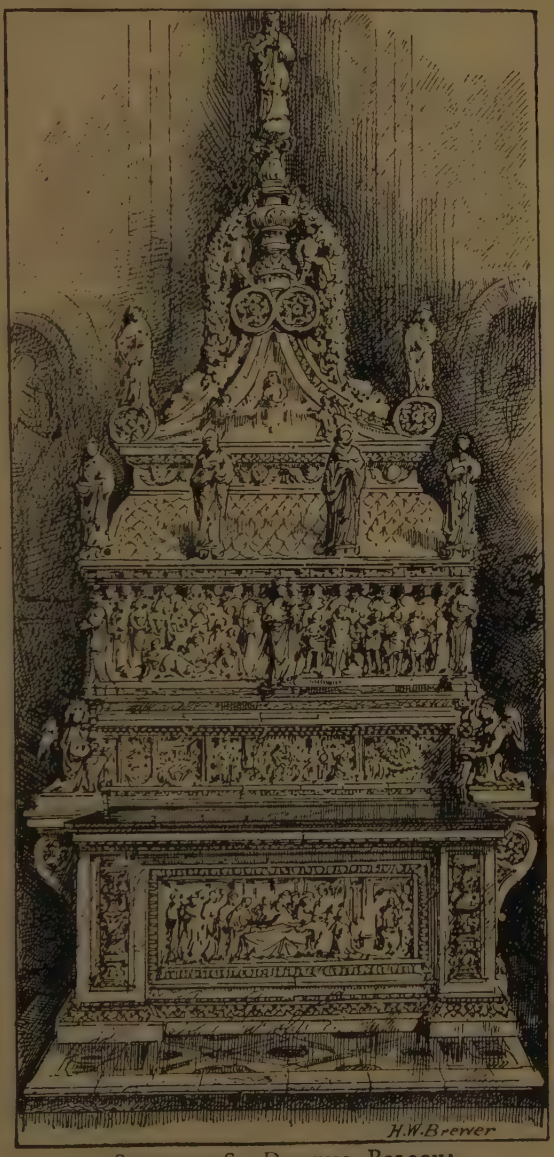
PLAN OF TRENT: TIME OF IGNATIUS

Conception, the position of the two Jesuit Fathers was assured. To Lainez was given the onerous task of collecting the heretical errors, old and new, to be condemned, with all the authorities against them.

Then the first interruption of the hapless Council came in an outbreak of fever at Trent. The Franciscan General and a Bishop were among its first victims, and the Fathers fled to Bologna. But too few reassembled for continuance of the Council, and its sessions were at an end. Salmeron lay fever-stricken at Verona, counting on Ignatius's prayers for his convalescence. Not only in the fever did the Legates acknowledge indebtedness to him; they had been in consultation with him while the Council lasted, and Lainez lamented that the Saint's valuable service was not rendered there in person.

It was in the second assembling of the Council that the Jesuits were especially prominent; and though this did not take place till after the accession of Pope Julius III., for the convenience of continuity we may treat and dismiss it here. It opened under the Presidency of Cardinal Crescenzi. The debate in September 1551 was on the Sacraments; and Lainez's defence of the Eucharist evoked universal admiration. Opening the discussion with the humility enjoined by his Founder, he declared that he should quote no authority whose works he had not read through. He quoted thirty-six, reciting long passages from an unfailing memory. Be it added that the works of one such author alone filled twenty-five folios. The audience was profoundly impressed, by the manner no less than the matter; and when Sal-

meron had been heard in the evening, the Council affirmed the day memorable. The Bishop of Modena exclaimed that he held himself fortunate to live in an age when he could hear such men. The Council gave a signal evidence of its esteem: for Lainez, falling ill of an ague, it resolved to sit only on the days when the fits left him. Ignatius would have sent Nadal to replace him; but Salmeron answered that he could not be replaced; two men in health could not do what



Shrine of St. Dominic, Bologna

Lainez was doing in illness. The Council sat till May 1552, by which time the Protestant theologians had arrived. Then its ill-fortune again intervened. Maurice of Saxony turned against the Emperor, for whom he had fought, surprised and all but took him prisoner at Innsbruck; and the unlucky Fathers fled from the sword as they had fled from fever. The Council was dissolved again, for two years; and the Jesuits once more departed, each to his place.

But, in relating here the second assemblage of the Council, we have anticipated events; and must return to the interruption of the first session by the futile removal to Bologna. An incident then occurred which first gave footing for the often-repeated charge that the Jesuits sought to control and intimidate secular princes. By his victory over the Protestants at Mühlburg, the Emperor was for a time absolute in Germany; and, until the Council should meet again, he sought to regulate the ecclesiastical troubles of the country by an ordinance famous as the Interim. It made some relaxations in favour of the Reformers, especially the liberty of marriage to priests and the admission of Communion under both kinds. Alone in Catholic Germany, Bobadilla spoke against the Interim, and blamed Charles to his face. Charles replied by forbidding him the Court and the limits of the Empire; supplying money for his journey, however, and avoiding any ignominious procedure. Ignatius might have approved the opposition; but the intemperance of the public rebuke to the Emperor so angered him that he would not receive Bobadilla when the latter reached Rome. The charges promptly made

against the Society in fact justified his disapproval; and intemperance was always particularly unpleasing to his own sagacious moderation, in which he little resembled the intolerant zealot of Protestant conceptions.

The first break-up of the Council was in no

NICOLAS DE BOBADILLA, COMPANION OF IGNATIUS

long time followed by the death of Pope Paul III., heart-broken at the treachery of relatives for whom he had cared to the extent of nepotism. It took place in the end of 1549; and, some months later, Julius III. was elected—one of the Presidents over the first session of the Council of Trent. The Jubilee year of 1550 brought the heads of the Society to Rome; and Ignatius seized the first chance to put before them his completed

Constitutions, asking their censure and corrections. Copies he sent, with like purpose, to men who—like Simon Rodriguez, kept by the King in Portugal—could not come to the Holy City. He wished to assure finality, and adaptation to all countries, by this wide census of opinion : profiting from the mishaps of previous Orders which had exercised less caution in the draughting of their rules, and had been forced to subsequent modification or exceptions. In the light of his brethren's suggestions he revised and finished his work ; yet, even then, he was so anxiously careful that he would not have it considered more than a provisional and working model until it had beer approved by a special general assembly of hi brethren. This did not come about till Lainez followed him in the Generalship ; when the Saint's thoroughness was evidenced by the Constitutions being confirmed without alteration.

All this was but preliminary to a more cherished design. During the Council, Ignatius, now nearer sixty than fifty years of age, had privately offered to resign the Generalship in favour of Lainez or any one whom the brethren should appoint. Now, having finished with the Constitutions, he formally asked relief from his office, on the ground of ill-health and unfitness. He made the request by letter; but the Fathers, after deliberation, unanimously refused any other General during his life. Only Oviedo at first was for acquiescence, in the persuasion that a Saint must know what he was doing better than they could know. And as if to justify the vain appeal, Ignatius soon after fell dangerously ill—so much to his own delight that the doctors enjoined him to restrain his joyous

anticipations, as dangerous to his life. This time he was disappointed.

The same year saw the sending of Canisius and Salmeron to Ingolstadt, where the Duke of Bavaria desired Professors of Theology. With them, by request, went Le Jay; but Ignatius required a promise that a Jesuit College should be founded, since his subjects were too few to be exhausted on

General View of the Borgia Palace, Gandia

temporary posts in establishments which produced only secular priests. The promise was given; and the Jesuits were excellently welcomed; Canisius becoming Rector of the University. But the promise was not kept; and other places called off the services of the Jesuits. Salmeron went to Verona, replaced by Schorich and Goudanus; while, later, first Le Jay and Schorich, then Canisius and Goudanus, were withdrawn to Vienna, where Ferdinand, King of the Romans, desired teachers. Ignatius could only promise their return when the Vienna College should be effectively set on foot.

But while these things were adoing in the eyes

of the world, a thing of far greater moment was passing unnoted of the world, the most important event in the Society since the adherence of Xavier. After the death of Favre, the Duke of Gandia wrote asking admission to the Society. He had before corresponded with Ignatius, who knew well what a recruit his Company had in the Spanish hidalgo; and his request met with no delay. By Papal permission his vows were taken in the chapel of his own Gandia palace, without a Roman journey. His membership remained equally private. By a striking anomaly, the almost princely Novice continued the direction of his great temporalities: to the world he was Duke of Gandia; to the Society, Brother Francis. Ignatius counselled him by letter in his spiritual progress; and one such letter is of special interest, for it shows how completely the Saint had taken warning from the results of his own too zealous rigours at Manresa. Borgia had consulted him, among other matter, as to austerities. Ignatius replied:

"As to fasting and abstinence, I think it more to the glory of God to preserve and strengthen the digestion and natural powers than to weaken them. . . . I desire then that you will consider that, as soul and body are given you by God, your Creator and Maker, you will have to give account of both, and for His sake you should not weaken your bodily nature, because the spiritual could not act with the same energy. If before I was pleased to see you fast rigorously, I cannot be so in future, because I see that this fasting and abstinence prevent the stomach from even digesting the simple aliments necessary to sustain life. I advise you rather to eat of all

permitted food, and as often as you are hungry, giving no offence to your neighbour, for we ought to love the body, and wish it well, when it obeys and assists the soul; and thus the soul has more

Portion of the Borgia Palace, Gandia

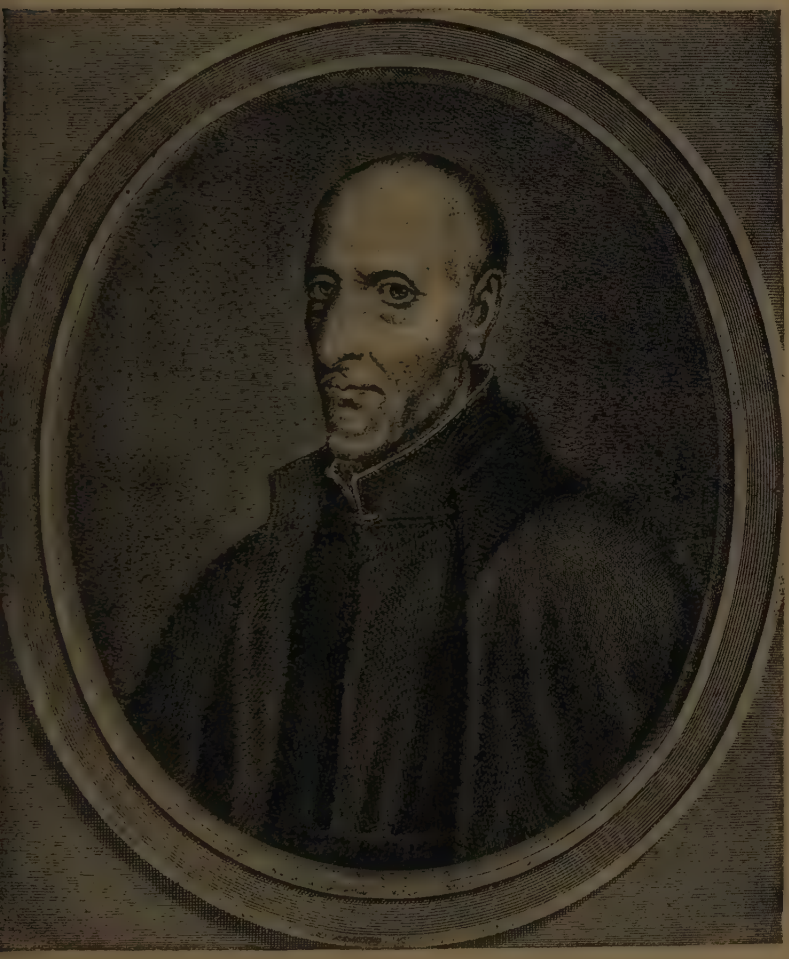
strength and energy to serve and glorify our Creator and Master. As to the third point—of personal penance—I desire you for Our Lord's sake to avoid drawing the smallest drop of blood; and, in place of seeking to draw blood, seek more directly Our Lord of all, that is to say, His Most Holy Gifts, as, for example, an overflow or some drops of tears; whether, first, because of our sins and those of others; or, secondly, in the contemplation of the mysteries of Christ Our Lord in this life or the next; or, thirdly, in the consideration of the love of the Divine Persons."

This letter, from a Saint to a Saint, is of peculiar

instruction because it shows Ignatius explicitly condemning the very excesses of ardour in which he himself had indulged. In a just humility before the inspiration of the Saints, we are apt to think that none of their "fair and flagrant" extremities can be questioned or questionable. This letter evidences that a sane and modest criticism of the human fallibility, from which grace and genius do not preserve them, may be adventured and justified. But be it noted that Ignatius was writing to a man whose zeal he could trust to err always on the further side of self-indulgence; with whom he knew the rein was more needed than the spur. Not fast, not austerity, but the too fiery impulses of austerity, are the things he checks: and these in a body which he discerned to be delicate. "A sound mind in a sound body is the most useful instrument wherewith to serve God," is the conclusion he draws for his fervid disciple. He was equally quick to check Oviedo, Rector in Borgia's College of Gandia, when Oviedo, inspired by a contemplative Franciscan, Texeda, craved for solitude. The Saint warned him that the impulse was a snare to seduce him from his vocation; that, labouring in the world against the world, the world was wilderness enough for him. Even Francis Borgia was a little shadowed by the General's displeasure at this incident, since Texeda was his *protégé*.

The Jubilee year brought Francis Borgia to Rome. The long Quixote-faced man with the great hooked nose, illustrious outwardly as a Spanish grandee, more illustrious to Ignatius as a Grandee of the Eternal Court, was assigned special apartments at Santa Maria della Strada. Honoured

with all observance of his princely rank, in private he was the Novice before his General. Entering



St. Francis Borgia

the house at the dinner-hour, he waited on the Fathers, whose meal he shared, and then gaily —surely gaily—washed the dishes in the kitchen. He humbly confessed himself to Ignatius, and

took counsel with him concerning his interior life. During this visit it was that he broached the project of the Roman College, to which he gave six thousand crowns in gold. He had married his eldest son and his daughters ; and, having provided for his family, there was little left to hinder his final admission to the Society. But before Christmas an unforeseen peril threatened. The Emperor, learning his entrance into the Order, asked the Pope to make him a Cardinal. Forthwith he fled from Rome, writing to several before he left in protest against the idea. Ignatius, on his part, retired into three days' prayer, and finally resolved to withstand the design, which he found well afoot. From the Cardinals he could gain nothing ; but, betaking himself to the Pope, he prevailed on him that the thing was against the spirit of the Society and Borgia's own wishes. Wary conduct was none the less needed, since Charles V. had no love for the Society since Bobadilla's imprudence in the matter of the Interim. So it was agreed that the hat should be offered to Borgia ; and, upon his foreseen refusal, the affair was dropped.

Then Francis went from Rome to the Basque provinces, and fixed his residence at Oñate. There he solemnly renounced his property and was ordained priest. Oñate was commended to him by its nearness to Loyola, where he entered the room in which his brother Saint was born, and, kneeling, kissed the ground. Ignatius speedily ordered him to begin the evangelisation of Spain, ultimately appointing him Commissary of Spain and Portugal. So entirely did he fulfil his Commission that he became the true Founder of Jesuitism in Spain.

CATHEDRAL AND ARCHBISHOP'S
PALACE, PALERMO

Ignatius, cast out from his own land, returned in the person of his son. Francis Borgia exerted all the vast influence of his connections among the nobility and at Court, preached to the people, and filled the cities with Houses and Colleges. In ten years he had personally set up Houses in as many towns. His brilliant success brought on him again the menace of a Cardinal's hat from Charles's son Philip ; and, once again, it had to be repelled. Thenceforth he was unmolested in the heavenly commonership he had chosen. But kindred dangers more than once beset the Society, of which the most pressing was King Ferdinand's attempt to make Canisius a Bishop at Vienna. Like his attempt on Lainez, it was foiled ; but only after much difficulty, and by a compromise which suffered him for a year to assume the duties without the revenues of a See.

But the career of Saint Francis Borgia has carried us forward beyond the Jubilee year. Already, before that year, the Society had spread in southern Italy, and attracted the notice of the Sicilian Viceroy. In Naples, one of its early pupils had been a boy of seven, so zealous that he set forth to school in the dark hours of morning, lit by the torches of the servants his mother sent with him ; so quick that before he emerged from boyhood he composed in Latin verse and prose, with some knowledge of Greek. It was Torquato Tasso. With the Viceroy's patronage, the Society spread through Sicily. Nadal and nine comrades were sent to open a College at Messina, speeded by Ignatius's customary formula :

"*Ite, omnia inflammate et accendite :*"

"Go, all things fire and set alight."

Palermo followed with a College, to which Ribadeneira, the fiery, but not over strong, was appointed. In Goa, Ignatius set afoot a House for native converts, which became a focus for the dissemination of Christianity, for he had learned from Xavier that converts often relapse for lack of proper nourishing.

CHAPTER XV

TROUBLES of a minor kind beset Ignatius in regard to individual Fathers. And, perhaps, these were not the slightest of all—"My wound is great, because it is so small," as Shadwell sang. Lainez, after accompanying the Imperial expedition against Tunis, was named Provincial of Italy; and in that capacity offended Ignatius by complaints against the draining of the best talent for the benefit of Rome, complaints persisted in after Ignatius had sent explanations. Not only the persistence but the tone of it seemed to the Saint indocile; and a severe reproof followed, with orders that Lainez should impose his own penance. This Lainez did with an unsparingness and humility which to the secular mind seem almost exaggerated. Ignatius was entirely satisfied, and bade him only to compose an answer to Luther, giving him Assessors that he might have the requisite leisure.

A more serious matter was the defective administration of Simon Rodriguez in Portugal. Twelve years Provincial, mild, and with a yearning for the contemplative life, he had drifted into making things pleasant for every one, from the King to his own subjects. Slackness had effeminated the College of Coimbra under his rule. So Ignatius sent Miron to replace him, assigning Rodriguez to the Government of Arragon. He persuaded the King by letters to support his authority in the matter; and Rodriguez submitted. But he declined the Arragonese Province, withdrawing to a country-house belonging to the Coimbra College, where he might gratify his wish for isolation. His

LISBON : TIME OF IGNATIUS

I. CHURCH AND PROFESSED HOUSE OF ST. ROCH. 2. FIRST COLLEGE OF THE SOCIETY, S. ANTASE VELHO. 3. ROYAL PALACE.

presence stirred discontent in the College ; and the rebels, angered also by the severity of the new broom, Miron, enlisted the Court on their side. Ignatius advised Miron to modify his method, sent Father de Torres, Rector of Salamanca, as his Visitor, and obtained the King's support in ordering Rodriguez to leave the country. After his departure, the College by degrees returned to obedience and fervour. But Rodriguez was not disposed of till he had been recalled to Rome, and condemned by an investigation which he himself had challenged. Ignatius remitted any sentence on him, allowed him to fulfil an old desire of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land ; and, that failing, Rodriguez retired to Spain.

In Spain itself there was trouble with the Archbishop of Toledo. He accused the Jesuits of invading episcopal rights, by asserting their privileges to administer the Sacraments in all places. He interdicted their College of Alcalá, in his diocese, and excommunicated all who should confess to them ; forbade the priests and Religious of his diocese to let the Jesuits say Mass in their churches, and suspended from hearing confessions all priests who had gone through the "Exercises." After vainly attempting propitiation, Ignatius appealed to the Pope and to the Spanish Privy Council against these outrageous proceedings ; and before the combined remonstrances of Pope and Council the Archbishop gave way. He cancelled his decrees ; and Ignatius, in a letter of thanks, undertook that the Jesuits should make no use of their privileges without his approbation.

The year 1552 brought its reminders of the passage of time ; Ignatius, now in the sixties,

lamented two other great calamities for the Society. Le Jay died at Vienna, and Xavier at San Chian, an island off the Chinese coast, when he was actually preparing to defy the Chinese law of exclusion against Europeans and to penetrate to the Emperor at Pekin. The indifference of King Joam to Catholic interests, the neglect of the Portuguese officials, and the broken promise of the

Site of Death and Burial of St. Francis Xavier
Island of San Chian, China

Governor of Malacca, set Xavier on this desperate resolve as the only measure which could avail for the protection of the Christians. Ignatius was preparing to recall him, as his own successor, when God recalled him first. It was in the following year that Nuñez, Oviedo, and Carneiro were at last sent to Abyssinia by Joam ; but Nuñez found an impostor self-established as Patriarch ; the King Claudius cared nothing for Portugal or Catholicism ; and, before Nuñez's request that he might return could be answered, Claudius, like a late Abyssinian monarch, was killed in battle with

the Arabs. Nuñez retired to Goa ; and there, awaiting instructions, he died.

In 1552 also Ignatius began the German College. The deplorable state of the German clergy clamoured for instruction, such as the state of the country made it impossible for Germany to supply ; Ignatius talking over the matter with Cardinal Morone, who had been Legate in that country, the Cardinal suggested that priests should be trained in Rome. The Papacy was not in funds ; but with Julius's approval and the support of Cardinal Cervini, the Cardinals were approached for aid ; Julius led the way with a yearly subscription, and the project was set on foot. Ignatius drew up the scheme of training, though he declined the management of the revenues ; twenty-four youths were selected from Germany, a house procured near Santa Maria della Strada, and the College was opened by Ribadeneira. Father André des Freux was first Rector. Even when revenue failed, during the war between Pope Paul IV. and Philip of Spain, Ignatius distributed part of the students among the foreign Colleges of the Society, and held on with the aid of charity. When the worst came, he borrowed upon his own security. The work, he told the despondent Cardinal of Augsburg, would not fail if the faith of its conductors did not fail ; and he more than once declared that the German College should one day have large revenues. So it happened under Gregory XIII., who enlarged and enriched it until it assumed the supremacy to which Ignatius had looked.

The other great foundation, the Roman College (begun by St. Francis Borgia in 1550), like most

Jesuit enterprises, flourished under obstacles. Its gratuitous teaching drew pupils from other schools, provoking jealousy and even actual violent attack from the aggrieved masters. Its methods were mainly derived from Ignatius's old University of Paris; and he would have no professors who had not been trained there. Gentleness was specially enjoined towards the students; the Saint laid down as the maxim of the Society that it "must always govern by love." The College experienced that extraordinary support under trial to which the sons of Ignatius had become accustomed. When Polanco had no means to pay the builders, Ignatius retired for prayer; and, coming forth with a serene aspect, told Polanco, "Though I be not a prophet or the son of a prophet, I am persuaded the Lord will not abandon us. Do you provide for the College six months more, and I will take care of it afterward." Almost immediately a large gift of money came in, and, before the six months were out, such plentiful alms accrued as discharged all debts. Even Protestants sent their sons to the College; so that the Jesuits had to choose among a superfluity of applications. Ignatius forbade the admission of students without the consent of their masters or guardians. To this prohibition he was specially led by a case in which a youth named Ottavio Cesare entered the Society in Sicily without his father's consent, which was nevertheless given after his admission. But when the youth was removed to Rome, the father changed his mind and followed him thither, claiming him from the Society, on the ground that the youth had acted against his parents' wish. He engaged in his favour Cardinal Caraffa, no great lover of

Jesuits; while the mother, too, appeared in Rome, and went from house to house proclaiming her wrongs with vehement emotion. Caraffa ordered the youth to be given up to his parents; and it needed Ignatius's personal intervention with the Pope to get the order cancelled.

Ignatius desired to make the College attractive by the brilliancy of letters and humane learning. Music, poetry, and oratory were cultivated in them; and, at the close of the scholastic year, plays were performed—so that the present-day plays of Beaumont College and the rest belong to a tradition dating from the time of the Founder himself. In 1556 a College was founded at Prague, Canisius its head, afterwards named Provincial. And in the summer of 1556 the long-delayed College was established at Ingolstadt by eighteen Jesuits, the last of the Saint's collegiate foundations.

In those latest years the Saint saw his order overflow into Belgium, where it had hitherto been kept aloof by the animosity of the Queen-Regent, the Emperor's sister, and her Minister, Zwichen. The imminent completion of Charles's abdication, with the consequent accession of his son Philip, a favourer of the Society, encouraged Ignatius to send the ubiquitous Ribadeneira to preach at Louvain. The report of his eloquence, as the Saint had hoped, brought an invitation to preach before the Court at Brussels; and enthusiasm was kindled for the Order. Only after Ignatius's death was it legally established in Belgium. In France his last years saw the fierce attack of the Sorbonne, and its decree against the Society. He received it in silence; but when the Cardinal of Lorraine

came to Rome with four Paris Doctors, Ignatius called on him with four Jesuit Fathers, and in a

HOUSE AT BRUGES, WHERE IGNATIUS STAYED

formal dispute convinced the Cardinal that the decree was unjust. Even the leading champion of the Sorbonne confessed it had been misinformed, and praised the moderation of the Saint. Ignatius

procured, likewise, testimonials from authorities of all kinds, wherever the Society was established; and the opposition gradually fell away.

Pope Julius III.

In the Papal chair Ignatius saw the death of Julius III., and the election of two successors. One cloud alone marred the favour which Julius showed the Society. Charles V. published a decree ordering all bishops and priests to reside in their dioceses or benefices. They were angered, and

the Pope took the view that this was an interference with his exclusive control over ecclesiastics.

Pope Marcellus II.
(*From the Hope Collection, Oxford*)

To his remonstrance, Charles replied that the decree was that of the Council of Trent, which he merely enforced ; and the Pope, still more angered by the reply, turned his wrath on the Jesuits, who

were supposed (falsely) to be the promoters of the decree, the general purport of which they very possibly approved. The Saint was ill, as it chanced; and it was not till some while after his recovery that he had a chance to see the Pope. Then King Ferdinand wrote to Julius concerning a diplomatic matter on which he had given his views to the Saint; and Julius sent for Ignatius. His irresistible power of persuasion did the rest: Julius was satisfied, and never again turned his face from the Society. He died in the March of 1555, and was followed by Cardinal Cervini as Marcellus II.

The new Pope instantly lavished proofs of affection on the Jesuits; and he is associated with that "Mass of Pope Marcellus" which commemorates the musical reform of himself and Palestrina. But in twenty-two days he followed Julius to the grave, and the Papacy fell to the reputed enemy of the Society, Cardinal Caraffa. Even on Ignatius's face a shadow fell when that ill news was brought: he had denied Caraffa's wish for a union of his Theatines with the Jesuits, and had vanquished him in the affair of Ottavio Cesare. The Theatines were his foundation as the Jesuits were Ignatius's; he might conceivably have small love for his fellow-Founder; and Ignatius had good reason to seek his customed resource of prayer. He came from his celestial colloquy, as usual satisfied. Paul IV. (as the new Pope was styled) would continue the Papal favour to the Society, he said; and so he did. In the main at least, he put off his old sentiments with the red hat, and treated both General and Society with kindness and confidence. Ignatius was even thought by

some to have special influence with him. He began the Spanish war that brought Alva to the

(From an Engraving by Philip Galle)

gates of Rome, and famine to the gates of the German College. But the Saint never faltered When some thought its continued subsistence a miracle, he answered that it would be strange, on the contrary, did God not support those that trusted in Him. "For my part, I had as lief take

on me to support a thousand as a hundred, seeing both are equally easy with God." What was to him a far worse calamity threatened from the first intention of Paul towards the Order: he was for making Lainez a Cardinal, and, to overcome his reluctance, lodged him in the Vatican, affecting to use him in the revision of the Datary. One day sufficed for Lainez ; and he was back in the Professed House, pretending a need to consult books in his work on the Datary. He made a written protestation of reluctance, by Ignatius's advice ; and Paul at last dropped his design.

In these closing years, a friend was given Ignatius outside the Society—Philip Neri. The Saint of tender pleasantries and purposed simplicity of behaviour and the dignified Spaniard became warmly attached to each other. St. Philip declared that it was Ignatius who taught him mental prayer ; and his love for the Founder extended to the whole Society. It was said in Rome that there was not a button left on the Jesuit cassocks—they had all been pulled off in colloquy with Philip Neri ; whence it would seem St. Philip had one point of resemblance to so very different a man as S. T. Coleridge. One remembers Lamb's tale of the poet left, with closed eyes, haranguing to the cut-off button ; and likes to think of the charming Roman Saint *buttoning* Ignatius in the streets of Rome, as Coleridge did the gentle Charles in the streets of London. Both Saints shared a prejudice, more English than Italian, and not very common in their age ; " Poverty," Philip quoted from St. Bernard, " has ever had charms for me, dirt never" ; and Ignatius so established the tradition of cleanliness as a duty, that our own Campion,

poet and martyr, ruled "constant ablutions among the obligations of the perfect priest. Besides the Oratorians, the Carthusians also, who had so early shown kindness to Ignatius, maintained a close alliance with the Society. The Prior of the Chartreuse in these latter days sent frequent gifts of money to the Saint, alms much needed during the poverty begotten of the Spanish war.

But in the summer of 1554 Ignatius's long-failing health gave token of the nearing end. By the persuasion of his brethren, at first resisted, he finally suffered them to appoint him an assistant, in the person of Nadal; to whom he resigned all the practical care of the Order, keeping only that of the sick. Though, for a time, he presently recovered, his weakness afterward increased, so that he often had to lie on his bed when he was consulted on matters of business. Yet when a Father thought to spare him, seeing him exhausted by a visit to the Pope, and delayed the mention of certain matters till the next day, he received so austere a rebuff as kept him for a week from venturing before the General.

Worn in body, the leg so mangled at Pamplona tender to the touch, he moved along with his slow, halting, but dignified, gait, his face bright as of old, living, one might say, by sanctity. In the middle of 1556 he grew evidently worse, and, by many little tokens was afterwards believed to have foreseen his imminent death. Thus he would not allow one Father to make his profession in Rome, as was customary, but ordered his vows to be received in Sicily, where he was working; discerning, as was thought, that himself would be dead before the Father could reach Rome. He

made over the affairs of his Generalship to a triumvirate which included Polanco, long his secretary, and Nadal. He said also, to some about him, that in his life-time he had specially desired three things, and, thanks to God, had seen them all granted: that the Society should be confirmed by the Pope; that the book of the "Spiritual Exercises" should be approved by the Holy See; and that the Constitutions be finished and brought to observance among the Society throughout the world. This done he had no more to do or desire in the present life; he was now unprofitable, and thought only of Heaven. About a year before his death he had dictated certain thoughts on Obedience, willing that they should be regarded as his final testament and legacy to the Society—true to the soldierly instinct which had ever placed the martial virtue of obedience in the forefront of his followers' duties.

Growing worse, he now retired to the villa of the Roman College, which he had erected only in the previous year. This July of 1556 was very hot, and some feared that the damps of a new building would be ill for his enfeebled health; but Alessandro Petronio, his doctor, after inspecting the place, sanctioned his design. Nevertheless, these fears were not causeless: he became so much more unwell that he returned to Rome, though the city was loud with the terror of Alva's approach. The end came soon, unexpected though nowise sudden, from the entire wearing-out of the machine, rather than from any fatal disease. More than one was sick in the Professed House; two, Lainez in particular, were thought sick unto death. Ignatius alone was esteemed but

COUNTRY-HOUSE OF THE ROMAN COLLEGE

triflingly unwell—a slight fever, so slight that its existence was even doubted. But he remained very weak, and that weakness was the unregarded peril.

On Wednesday, July 29, he directed that Torres

At the Gesù, Rome: Room where Ignatius died

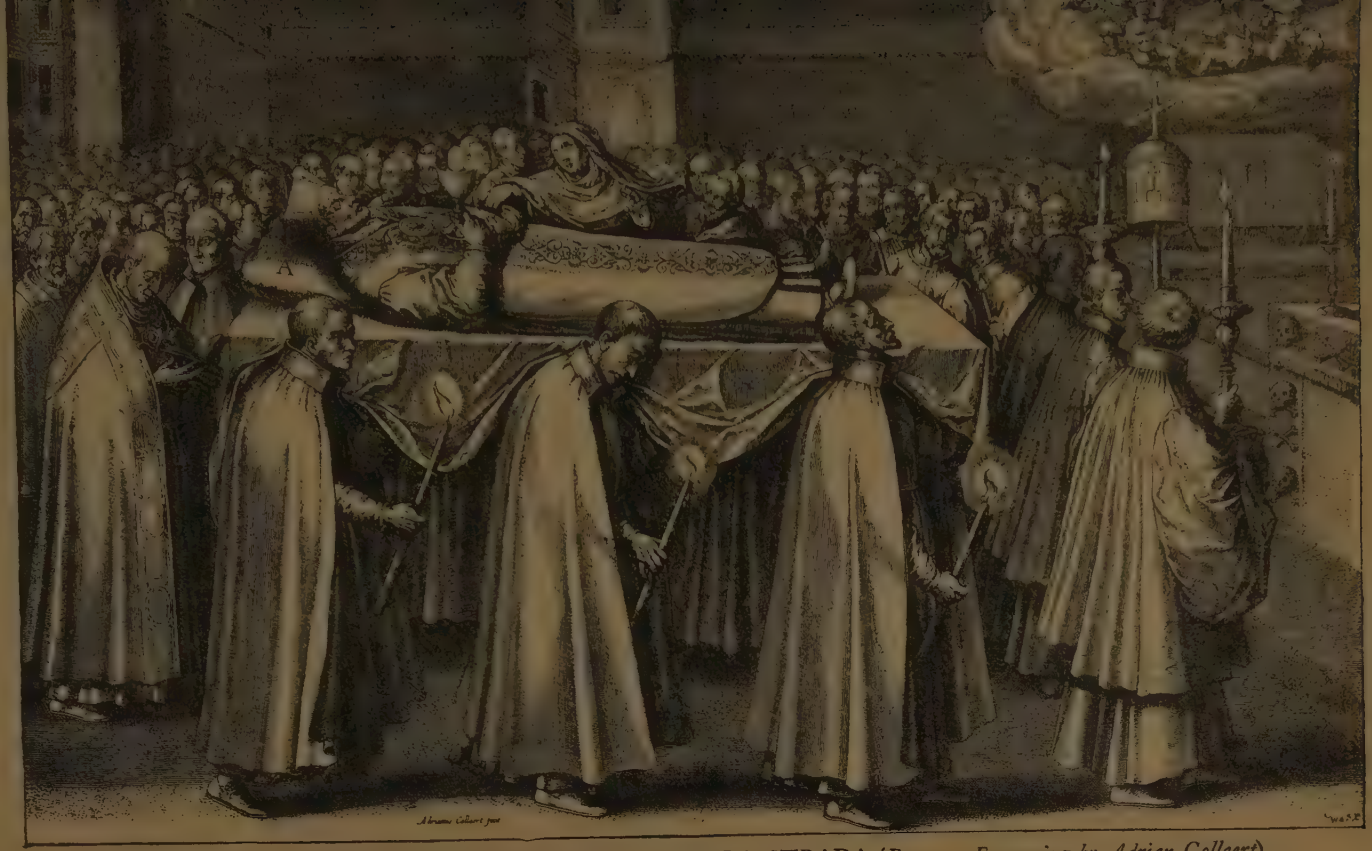
should attend him, together with the other sick. So much as this had not been reckoned necessary by the brethren, all ignorant of their coming loss. On the Tuesday he had confessed and Communicated. On the evening of Thursday he called Polanco, and, being left alone with him, told him to inform the Pope that he was beyond recovery, and ask the Papal blessing for himself and for another Father, conceived by Polanco to be Lainez, though the issue seemed to show that Olave was meant. Polanco asked in surprise if he were really

thus ill, assuring him that the doctors held another opinion, and that he trusted God would yet keep him for His service. Ignatius insisted. But so obstinate was Polanco in his optimistic trust of medical opinion, that he asked whether he might not defer the charge till the next day, having letters to write into foreign countries that night. No, he had rather it were done to-day than to-morrow, said the dying Saint, and the sooner the better: howbeit, let Polanco do as he should think fit: he left himself entirely in Polanco's hands. It was a final effort of resignation and renouncement, since he must have known surely that next day would be too late. Polanco consulted Doctor Petronio, who said that next day he might give an opinion whether there were danger; to-day he would say nothing. Polanco decided to await the morrow's verdict, and retired—to write his letters. He was the more cheerful over his judgment, since Ignatius ate well and talked in his usual manner at supper. That night the Saint bore himself as he had been wont, save that he no longer called on the attendant brother so often as before, and, after midnight, he became quiet. From time to time, as the slow hours of his unguessed dying wore away, he was heard to cry, "O God!" (Ay Dios!) He verified an oft-repeated experience —how little we realise the death of a friend who is long a-dying; how incredulous we are to his own perception and assertions of his danger. Such a one learns mournfully and resignedly to hold his peace, rather than trouble his friends with that which they do not wish to believe. Even next morning, when certain

brethren with two doctors saw him, they perceived his weakness, but not his danger. The infirmarian was told to beat an egg for him; but while he was adoing it, in came Father Madrid one of the triumvirate which held the Generalship in commission; who, on touching him, discerned he was dying. All was consternation. The infirmarian hurried for the Saint's confessor; Polanco hastened on his belated errand to the Pope, who granted with hasty grief the Saint's petitions. But before blessing or confessor could reach him, Ignatius Loyola lay dead as he had lived, hiding in a great calm those inner sufferings which men should never know. He died without Sacraments, without ostentation, without mourning throng round his bed, without final counsels and directions to the Order he left behind, without death-bed scene of any sort, though for these things his prescience of the end gave him fullest opportunity; choosing rather to leave his dying, like his living, as an ordinary incident in the hands of God. When they came to embalm him, the stomach and entrails were shrivelled, and the liver diseased—to such extent that it was apparent he had long been living, as we have already guessed, only by force of sanctity.

CANDLE HELD BY IGNATIUS AT HIS DEATH: ENCLOSED IN STICK

His disease, in so far as he can be said to have died of any disease, was the malarial fever which till lately claimed its constant victims, rising from the deadly Campagna. Only four persons were



FUNERAL OF IGNATIUS IN SANTA MARIA DELLA STRADA (*From an Engraving by Adrian Collaert*)

present at the end; Fathers Madrid, Torres and des Freux, with Francis Tarugi, a devout courtier, afterwards an Oratorian. He was sixty-five years of age when he died; but the lives of such men are accounted, not by their days, but by their innumerable virtues and glories. He was buried in the church of the Professed House, at the foot of the High Altar; but in 1587 the body was transferred to the new church of the Gesù, built in place of Santa Maria della Strada, under the Generalship of Acquaviva.

His death was received with widespread lamentation, and tributes written from all quarters of Europe; not the least among which was the eulogy uttered in conversation by his friend St. Philip. The seemingly dying Lainez guessed the news from the words and looks of those about him. "The Saint, then, is dead?" he said to the Fathers who visited him; and when they confessed it, raising his hands and eyes, he besought Ignatius to obtain his immediate release and reunion with his friend and Founder. Ignatius denied the hasty prayer: instead, Lainez recovered, to succeed the dead Saint in the Generalship.

The long years of strenuously patient struggle which culminated in the establishing of a work so colossal had been followed by fifteen years of personally uneventful rule; marked by the most wide and eventful triumphs throughout Europe, in all of which his was the central and directing brain. That, let us repeat, was at once paternal and stringent. Love, the Saint insisted, must be the corner-stone of Jesuit government. Benevolent patience and forbearance he showed abundantly. Yet beneath this was the hand of steel. His rule

ALTAR AND SHRINE OF ST. IGNATIUS, IN THE CHURCH OF THE GESÙ, ROME

had much of military sagacity; and military, too, was its uncompromising stress on discipline. Uncalculating obedience was its first principle: for his followers it was indeed "theirs not to reason why." And of this spirit himself set the example in so far as it consisted with his office. At sixty years he declared that a sign from the Pope would send him on board the nearest galley at Ostia, ready to put off without oars, sails, or provisions. "But where would be the prudence of this?" asked a nobleman. The answer came right soldierly: "Prudence, my lord, is the virtue of those who command, not of those who obey."

Nor was he a character to be disobeyed; said Cardinal Carli of him: "He has driven in the nail, nothing can pull it out." Francesco Marino, a Novice exceedingly useful as Minister of the Professed House, retained an obstinate character even after he had passed through the "Exercises." Some traits of this nature came before Ignatius in the usual nightly report. He called Francesco from his bed and sent him off there and then. In such cases, no doubt, he had silently been forming a resolution from long observation of the culprit: the hastiness was only on the surface, and in outward appearance. Another Novice talked often and recklessly of quitting the Order. Ignatius bore with him awhile: but at length he was told that the youth had informed the advisers, sent to him at the Saint's desire, of his intent to stay only the night and go the next morning. "Will he go to-morrow?" exclaimed the formed warrior of Pamplona. "That shall not he, for he shall not sleep in the House to-night." And the Novice went on the moment. The members of the Society

were forbidden to visit a woman alone; but once an old priest (with the most innocent intention as Ignatius knew) overstepped this rule. The poor old Father was condemned to scourge himself, while eight of the other Fathers recited aloud the Penitential Psalms; and this, we are told, Ignatius thought an indulgent sentence. O iron generation!

He was believed to be coldest and severest with those he loved best and trusted most. Nadal had from him such terrible reproofs in the refectory as made him weep. But Nadal, it may be noted, was himself not weak on the side of lenience. Harshness, however, cannot be laid to the charge of Lainez, his early friend and disciple, his successor in the Generalship for which Ignatius himself not once alone marked him out. And Lainez had to cry: "O Lord, what have I done to harm the Society that *El Santo* treats me with such severity?" Polanco, Ignatius's secretary—"his hands and feet"—declared that until Ignatius lay a-dying the Saint had not for years spoken to him with any signs of friendship. Yet Ribadeneira, who made such ado to himself and his masters, found that *El Santo* could behave in another manner where he found it fitting. There is a touch of charming human affectionateness in the relations between this Pedro and his feared but worshipped General. All this, in fine, (over and above his desire that general brotherhood should not be injured by individual preference) was policy, system, and insight into spirits. These very men with whom he was so stern would rather have been rebuked by him than cherished by another. He carefully eschewed imperiousness in giving his orders; he consoled generously such as failed in any mission, never suffering them to feel that they

had fallen in favour. He checked all excess in austerity, as we have seen ; he was tender towards the sick. But his indulgence did not embrace laxity: he showed an almost martinet minuteness in his insistence on order : from him Xavier learned his own maxim, " Be great in little things." Though he wrote oftentimes thirty letters a day, there was not one, he said, but he read twice over ; and he enjoined the like reconsideration on his followers.

When we come to examine these things, when we recollect his wonderful adaptability to diverse spirits, which he erected into a system, his extraordinary administrative gift, which would have made a great temporal prince, his profound sagacity, his union of an *élan* before which obstacles broke in pieces with the slowest patience, that could wait laborious years for its fulfilment, the invincible charm and overwhelming personal magnetism which moved obdurate enemies if once they came to speech with him, his military union of comprehensive genius with providence in minutiæ, wonder at the success of the Society ceases. Any human business, organised and directed with wisdom so consummate, must needs have succeeded. With the favouritism of Heaven, one might almost say it had an unfair advantage. Here was a man who in any career must have been great. His ambition was of the highest : he chose to be great in both worlds.

His interior life, his converse with God, remains hidden from us to a degree unwonted in the case of Saints so great ; so that in these pages there has been little of such matter to record, and its record seems contrary to the spirit of the man. Thus also his career is peculiarly stripped of miracle and the obviously " supernatural." The man himself

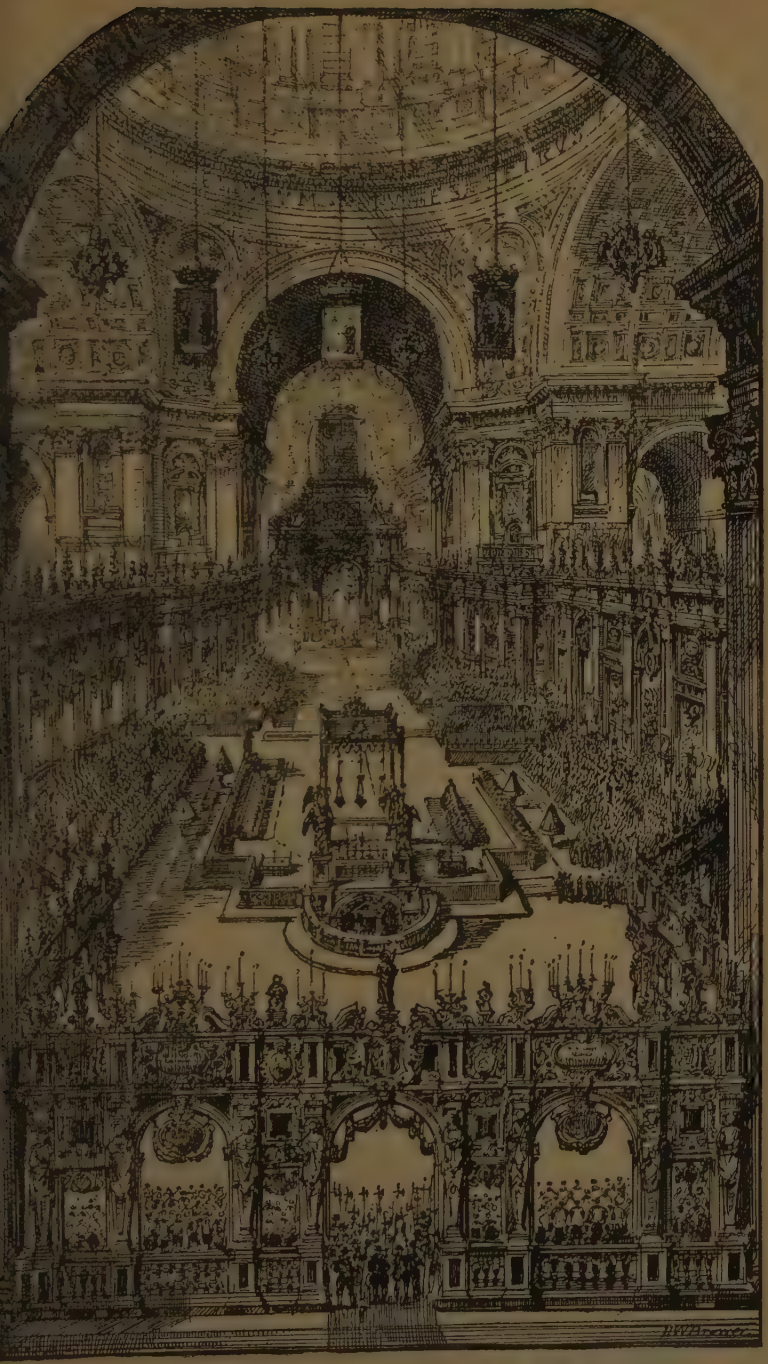
is sufficient miracle; the career of his Order, in the latter years standing alone with "the sanction of the world's undying hate," is supernatural

Balcony attached to the Study of Ignatius, the Gesù, Rome

enough. He did not need the trappings of Saintship, which the Saints themselves have ever contemned as undeserving of note. The whole tenor of his life, both in what he did and in what he refrained from doing, a character of so singular dignity and recollection maintained through the heat and weariness of a long warfare with the world and its circumstances, wherein some error, some lapse and stumbling would seem, and is,

inevadable by our unsustained humanity—in these is manifest that indwelling of the Spirit of God which is sanctity ; in these more than in a long bede-roll of formal virtues such as were easy enough to compile from the records of his followers, especially that well-loved Ribadeneira who lived to write his biography.

And as he hid from us the face of his soul, so also he withheld, like Shakespeare, his bodily countenance. No portrait of him was painted during life ; and the most authentic likeness we have was produced subsequently by Coello, the Spanish Court-painter, from a death-mask, abetted by Ribadeneira's suggestions. From this and imperfect verbal description we are left to form some notion of the Saint. In those last years at least, he was bald ; his slight beard and moustache, with what hair remained, were grey. His forehead was notably high, broad, and somewhat domed, his nose strong and aquiline, the deep-set eyes were sunken but alive with fire, the lids fretted with his private tears ; the complexion, one gathers, was of Spanish olive, the chin in Coello's portrait is singularly small and feminine for a countenance and personality so masculine. Of middle height, "rather low than tall," wrapped in a cloak, with large flapping sombrero hat, he walked the streets of Rome leaning on a stick, the slight halt caused by his maimed leg scarce noticeable in his slow and dignified carriage. A grave amiability was habitual to his expression ; but those who spoke with him lost sense of all else in his aspect when he raised his bowed head and lifted on them those wonderful eyes. Dark, doubtless, like those of all Spaniards, they fascinated and



CANONISATION OF IGNATIUS IN ST. PETER'S

compelled by the irresistible authority of the spirit which looked out from and with them. There are eyes which the soul looks through merely, which are indeed windows of the soul; but these were vivid, active, and potent, weapons of persuasion and command. God, he said, acted in him much more than he acted in himself; and those eyes were so often raised upward that some spoke of him as the man who lifts his eyes to Heaven.

Ignatius was beatified by Pope Paul V., at the unanimous request of all Christian princes, and the special petition from towns chiefly connected with his memory, in 1609; Gregory XV., in 1622, raised him finally to the altars of the Church, on March 12, the feast of St. Gregory the Great; and Gregory's successor, Urban VIII., included him in the Roman Martyrology.

Issuing from his Manresan cave, forgotten by the world which he had forgotten, and rejected in the land which bore him, single and unaided he constructed and set in motion a force that stemmed and rolled back the Reformation which had engulfed the North and threatened to conquer Christendom. He cast the foundations of his Order deep; and, satisfied that his work was good, died—leaving it for legacy only the God-required gift that all men should speak ill of it.

Most singular bequest that Founder ever transmitted, it has singularly been fulfilled. The union of energy and patience, sagacity, and a self-devotion which held nothing impossible that was bidden it, were the leading qualities of St. Ignatius; and in so far as his Order has prospered, it has been because it incarnated the qualities of its Founder. The administrative genius which,

among the princes of Europe or the "untutored minds" of Paraguay, is perhaps its most striking secular feature, comes to it direct from the man who might have ruled provinces in the greatest empire of the sixteenth century ; but chose rather to rule, from the altars of the Church, an army which has outlasted the armies of Spain, and made conquests more perdurable than the vast empire which drifted to its fall in the wake of the broken galleons of the Armada.

THE END

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